HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR

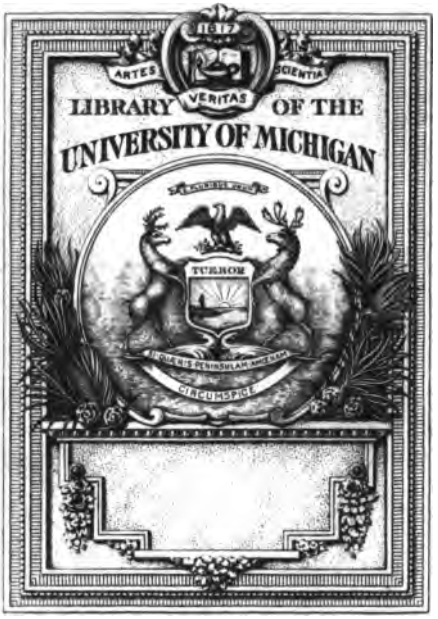
DARMESTETER

BOOK II

MORPHOLOGY

OR

THE STUDY OF THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS



A

HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR

A HISTORICAL FRENCH GRAMMAR

BY

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BOOK II

MORPHOLOGY

OR

THE STUDY OF THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS

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PREFACE

1. THE present volume contains the translation of Book II of Darmesteter's French Grammar, extracted from the complete work, of which the translation appeared in 1899.

It should be said that the separate publication of Book II, which deals with Morphology, or Accidence, is due to the suggestion of various correspondents connected with secondary and higher education. The subject has been introduced into the programme of the Leaving Certificate Examination in Scotland, and it will probably not be long before it is introduced into secondary schools in England. To boys and girls with even the faintest rudiments of Latin the subject gains immensely in interest and value by being treated historically; and it should be said that the work was originally written for the girl students of the *École Normale Supérieure des Filles* at Sèvres, who had no previous knowledge of classical languages.

2. The preface to the complete work contains an account of its origin and of its posthumous publication by MM. Muret and Sudre, both former pupils of the author.

The work is divided into four books:—

Book I. *Phonetics*, or the study of the sounds.

Book II. *Morphology*, or the study of the grammatical forms (Declensions and Conjugations).

Book III. *Formation of Words* (Composition and Derivation), and *Life of Words* (or Semantics).

Book IV. *Historical Syntax*.

Book I has been edited by M. Muret, Book II and the remainder of the work by M. Sudre.

In Book II, M. Sudre, adhering to the plan laid down

by M. Muret, has introduced considerable additions or modifications in §§ 148, 164, 170, 188–190 (degrees of comparison), in §§ 205–208 (demonstrative pronouns), and §§ 219, 222, 244, 249, and 253. He has also added § 198 on the impersonal pronoun, and the account of the forms of the verb *être*.

3. *Typographical Conventions.*—The conventions of the French text have been scrupulously followed in Book I, dealing with Phonetics, where strictness was essential. In the later portion of the book such strictness would have caused unnecessary awkwardness. M. Muret writes with regard to Book I:—

'The reader will notice with regard to Latin examples that the feminines of the 1st declension, in **-a**, are always quoted in the nominative case, while feminines of the 3rd declension, and all masculines, are quoted in the accusative. The reason for this will be found in Book II, §§ 145–153, on the history of the Latin declension in Gaul. Reference may also be made to Book I, § 64, 1.

'The *asterisk* (as in ***vervicem**) is used throughout to denote Latin words not to be found in dictionaries of classical and ecclesiastical usage. It seemed superfluous to distinguish those which occur in Low Latin texts from those whose existence has been deduced from French and other Romance languages.

'Wherever French words are traceable to a Latin type differing from the classical type, the fact has been indicated, if not expressly, at any rate by the juxtaposition of the classical and popular forms[1].

'Roman, thick, and italic type are used in each case to distinguish pronunciation or spelling of different dates

[1] The reader is supposed, after Book I, to be aware of the distinction between Popular and Classical forms, and the Popular form is quoted *without the Classical*, e.g. **recipere**, and not **recipere**.

or origins. As a rule, thick type is used for the oldest form, italic for the latest. Thus in Chapter III, on the history of the *Pronunciation of Popular Latin in Gaul from the 5th to the 10th century*, thick type is used for Latin words, italic for French. A number of examples in this chapter show the successive pronunciations of a given word from the time of the oldest French texts down to the present day, so that the mind easily connects the form of the 10th or 11th century with that of the 19th. In some cases the pronunciation of forms anterior to the appearance of French is given as restored by induction: such forms are always given in italics between parentheses and precede the earliest forms of which we have direct evidence. Forms of Middle and Modern French have also been printed in parentheses, side by side with the Old forms, in cases where the inexperienced reader was likely to feel doubt as to the pronunciation of the earlier forms. Various associations of ideas, and (since the 15th and 16th centuries) the pedantry of learned men, too closely followed by the Academy, have disturbed the traditional spelling and pronunciation of many French words: in these cases the forms now in use are printed in parentheses and in Roman characters, merely to give additional information, or as translations of the forms of the Old language.

'As the diacritical signs were unknown to the Middle Ages, their use in the case of words anterior to the 16th century has been restricted to examples where it was necessary to distinguish open e and o (è and ò) from close e and o (é and ó), or open or close e from e feminine or mute.' [Expressions such as 'close é,' 'open ò,' although pleonastic, have been used in the text as more likely to impress the memory.]

For French before the 17th century, i.e. Old and Middle

French, it is necessary to have some term, and the expression in the original, *l'ancienne langue*, has been translated by 'the Old language.' This is to be distinguished from 'Old French,' which means French from the 9th to the 14th century. As an abbreviation for 'the Old language' the symbol '(O.F.)' has been used: the use of a dagger (†) for obsolete words, adopted in the Indexes, suggested itself unfortunately too late to be adopted in the text.

The 'Modern language,' written with a capital, must be taken as a technical expression for French from the 17th century down to our time. Occasionally the French of the 17th century is contrasted, however, in the original with the modern, i. e. contemporary language, and in this case 'modern' has been written without a capital. In spite of apparent complexity in this convention, confusion is hardly to be feared in any instance. The use of capitals in the terms 'Popular' and 'Learned formation,' resorted to, for greater clearness, in the last two Books, should have been adopted throughout.

A new feature has been introduced, namely the marking, in all cases where it seemed to be of use, of the place of the tonic accent or *tempus forte* (see § 40 in Book I) in Latin words, e.g. **recipere**[1]. Many etymologies have been introduced with the assistance of the French editors where the additions conduced to clearness.

4. *Translation of Words and Examples.*—An elementary knowledge of French is assumed on the part of the reader; to translate every word and example would have been irritating, and would have increased the bulk of the book unduly. In Book II, the quotations from Old French (chosen to illustrate grammatical forms and not

[1] We may warn the casual reader that, in all cases where it is not otherwise stated, Popular Latin forms, e. g. **recipere**, and not Classical forms, e. g. **recipere**, are quoted.

difficult points of syntax) have been kindly rendered into Modern French by M. Sudre, and are accompanied only rarely by English renderings[1].

5. The text of the present volume is identical with that of the original publication, but a list of *corrigenda* and *addenda* has been added, for most of which the translator is indebted to Prof. Louis Brandin of University College, London, Prof. Victor Kastner of the Owens College, Manchester, and Mr. William A. Reynolds, formerly professor at the *Lycée St.-Louis* in Paris.

The indexes have been extracted from the general indexes to the whole work, and a few additions have been made.

I shall be grateful to any reader who will send me corrections or suggestions for a future edition, to the care of the publishers[2].

A. HARTOG.

[1] M. Sudre has occasionally modified the spelling of examples from Norman and other dialectal texts, to bring them into harmony with the forms of the Île de France, or French proper; thus, forms like *dunt*, &c., in the *Chanson de Roland* have been replaced by *dont*, &c. Conventional spellings of the 16th century, e.g. *practique* for *pratique*, have also in some instances been abandoned.

[2] We add a list of the chief works by M. A. Darmesteter :—

(i) *Reliques Scientifiques* (Paris: Léopold Cerf; 2 vols., 8vo, 1890). This work contains various memoirs on phonetics and morphology.

(ii) *Traité de la formation des Mots Composés dans la langue française* (Paris: Vieweg; 1st ed., 8vo, 1874); the second edition, revised and augmented by the author, was published in 1894 under the supervision of M. Gaston Paris (Paris: Bouillon; 8vo).

(iii) *De la création actuelle des Mots Nouveaux dans la langue française et des lois qui la régissent* (Paris: Vieweg; 8vo, 1877).

(iv) *The Life of Words, as Symbols of Ideas* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.; 8vo, 1886).

(v) *Le seizième siècle en France, tableau de la litterature et de la langue*, par A. Darmesteter et A. Hatzfeld (Paris: Ch. Delagrave).

(vi) *Dictionnaire Général de la langue française*, par A. Hatzfeld et A. Darmesteter, avec le concours de A. Thomas (Paris: Ch. Delagrave; 8vo). Completed in 1900.

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

P. 189, line 18 from the top, *for* 'ending in -iacum' *read* 'ending in -acum or -iacum.'

P. 222, line 26 from the top, *for* '*prieies*' *read* '*prieis.*'

P. 230, line 6 from the top, *for* 'idoleum' *read* 'idolum.'

P. 246, lines 9 and 10 from the bottom, *for* '*the thing which I like*' *read* '*the thing or the one* (*i.e. person*) *which I love.*'

P. 252, line 10 from the top, *for* 'Latin' *read* 'Low Latin.'

P. 257, lines 5 and 6 from the top, *for* '*grec, grés, turc, turs*' *read* '*Grec, Grés, Turc, Turs.*'

P. 260, line 10 from the bottom, *for* 'The language has long hesitated' *read* 'The language long hesitated.'

P. 270, line 11 from the top, *for* '*Presentement*' *read* '*Présentement.*'

P. 290, footnote 2, *read* 'In Mod. F. : *Je me montrerai généreux envers lui, dit Picrochole.*'

P. 308, line 7 from the top, *for* 'hoc + il[lud]' *read* 'hoc + il[le].'

P. 315, line 13 from the bottom, *for* '*whom did you see?*' *read* '*which* [*of them*] *did you see?*'

P. 317, line 10 from the top, *for* 'the past participles and future' *read* 'the participles past and future.'

P. 322, add as a footnote referring to the last line:—[In Old Provençal the fusion of the two elements of the future is still so incomplete that a direct object may be inserted between the infinitive and the auxiliary; thus the phrase *dir vos ai* is equivalent to the Modern French *je vous dirai.*]

P. 323, line 22 from the top, *for* 'significance' *read* 'signification.'

P. 323, footnote, *for* '§ 452 II. iv.' *read* 'Book IV, § 452 a, p. 757.'

P. 325, line 17 from the top, *for* 'possum' *read* '*poteo.'

P. 327, line 28 from the top, transfer the word 'only' to the beginning of the next line.

P. 328, lines 4 and 5 from the bottom, delete the words '*dit-on*' in each case.

P. 330, suppress the footnote.

P. 336, line 17 from the top, after *aidiez* (twice) add 'see § 54 I *a*, p. 100.'

P. 358, line 16 from the top, *for* 'German' *read* 'Germanic.'

P. 365, line 8 from the bottom, *for* 'only gives in the future' *read* 'gives in the future only.'

P. 373, add at the end of the footnote, 'except *maudire*, which gives *maudisses*.'

P. 381, line 19 from the top, *for* 'restore' *read* 'give.'

P. 388, line 4 from the top, *for* 'a proper' *read* 'an independent.'

P. 388, line 7 from the top, *for* '*Ha! las! . . . engeignies*' *read* '"*Ha! las!*" *dist-il*, "*com sui mal engeignies.*"'

CONTENTS

BOOK II

MORPHOLOGY, OR THE STUDY OF THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS

(General Theory of the Parts of Speech.)

PAGE

123. The parts of speech 179

CHAPTER I.

On the Noun-Substantive and Noun-Adjective.

Section I.—*Of the various kinds of Nouns.*

124. The various kinds of nouns 184

I. Proper Nouns.

125. Proper nouns 184
126. Names of persons 184
127. Names of things personified 188
128. Names of nations, &c. 188
129. Geographical names 188

II. Common Nouns.

130. Common nouns, abstract and concrete; their extension and intension 189
131. The sources of common nouns 191

III. Material Nouns.

132. Material nouns 191

IV. Nouns of Indeterminate Quantity.

133. Collective nouns 192
134. Adverbs which are true collectives 192

V. Nouns of Determinate Quantity.

135. Nouns of number (numerals) 193
136. Nouns of number proper, or cardinal nouns 194
137. Nouns of order, or ordinal nouns 202
138. Old forms of numerals in -ain, -aine 204
139. General remarks on numerals 205

VI. Indefinite Nouns.

140. Indefinite nouns 205
141. Indefinite substantives 205
142. Indefinite adjectives 206
143. Qualifying adjectives which may become indefinite adjectives . 209

Section II.—*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Substantive.*

144. General remarks on case, gender, and number in Latin . . 210

I. Cases.

PAGE
145. Reduction of the Latin declension in Popular Latin . . 216
146. Formation of the declension in Old French. Masculine substantives 217
147. Declension of the feminine substantives 221
148. Indeclinable substantives 222
149. Loss of the Old French declension 222
150. Remnants of the old declension 223

II. Genders.

151. Loss of the Latin neuter in the Gallo-Roman period . . 225
152. Latin neuters which have become masculine in French . . 226
153. Latin neuters which have become feminine in French . . 226
154. Changes in the gender of feminine substantives derived from Latin neuters 228
155. Reasons which determined the choice of genders in French words 231
156. Changes in gender of common nouns 232
157. Substantives with a double etymological origin . . . 233
158. Disturbing action of terminations 234
159. Analogical action of suffixes 240
160. Action of analogous words, or of closely related terms . . 241
161. Syntactic actions 242
162. Reversion to the Latin gender 247
163. Inexplicable change of gender in certain substantives . . 249
164. The feminine of nouns denoting persons 249
165. The feminine of nouns denoting animals 254

III. Numbers.

166. Origin of the French plural 256
167. Changes of form caused in Old French by the flexional **s** . 256
168. Formation of the plural from the singular 258
169. Formation of the singular from the plural. Effect on the pronunciation of final consonants 258
170. Remains of the early usage 259
171. Plurals in **x** 262
172. Plurals of foreign nouns 262
173. Plurals of compound nouns 263
174. Plurals of indeclinable words taken substantively . . . 263

Section III.—*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Adjective.*

175. Declension of Latin adjectives. Two classes of adjectives . 264

I. Cases.

176. Declension of the masculine adjective in Old French . . 266
177. Declension of the feminine adjective in Old French . . 267

PAGE
178. Indeclinable adjectives in Old French 267
179. The old adjective declension has left scarcely any traces . . 268

II. Genders.

180. Loss of the second class of adjectives 268
181. Remnants of the second class of adjectives in Modern French 269
182. Influence of the feminine form of the adjective on the masculine 271
183. Adjectives ending in e mute in the masculine 272
184. Disturbing action of certain orthographic irregularities on the spelling of feminine forms 273
185. Differences in the disturbing action of phonetic laws according as the adjective ends with a labial, dental, palatal, nasal, or liquid, or a vowel 274

III. Numbers.

186. General rule for the formation of the plural 281
187. Peculiarities of the plural of certain adjectives . . . 281

IV. Degrees of Comparison.

188. Degrees of comparison in Latin 282
189. The comparative in French 283
190. The superlative in French 284

CHAPTER II.

On the Pronoun.

191. The different kinds of pronouns 286

I. Personal Pronouns.

192. Personal pronouns. Division into two series 287
193. Retention of the pronoun-declension 288
194. True personal pronouns. Pronoun of the first person . . 290
195. Pronoun of the second person 291
196. Reflexive pronoun of the third person 292
197. Demonstrative personal pronoun of the third person. Substantive pronoun 292
198. The impersonal pronoun il 297
199. The adjective pronoun or article †li, †lo, le, la, les (*masc. and fem.*) 298

II. Possessive Pronouns.

200. Possessive pronouns 301
201. Possessive pronouns referring to a single possessor . . 301
202. Possessive pronouns referring to more than one possessor . 304

III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

203. Demonstrative pronouns 307
204. Remains of the Latin demonstrative pronouns . . . 307
205. Creation of new demonstrative pronouns in Gallo-Romanic . 308

PAGE
206. **Ecceho**c (†ço, ce) 309
207. **Ecceiste** (†cist; origin of cet, ce, cette, ces) 309
208. **Ecceille** (†cil; origin of celui, ceux, celle, celles) . . . 311
208a. Notes on §§ 207 and 208 311

IV. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

209. Relative pronoun 313
210. Interrogative pronoun 314
211. The neuter relative and interrogative pronouns **quoi, que** . 315
212. The pronouns **quel** and **lequel** 315

CHAPTER III.

On the Verb.

Section I.—*Conjugation in general.*

I. Voices.

213. Voices in Latin 316
214. Voices in French 318

II. Moods and Tenses.

215. Creation of the conditional in Gallo-Romanic 318
216. Loss of certain Latin tenses 318
217. New formation of past tenses 319
218. New formation of the future and conditional 321

III. Persons.

219. First person singular 324
220. Second person singular 327
221. Third person singular 328
222. First person plural 329
223. Second person plural 330
224. Third person plural 330
225. Present participle and gerund 331

IV. Form of the Radical.

226. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the three present tenses 332
227. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the future and conditional 337

Section II.—*The different Conjugations.*

Introduction.

228. On the revolution in the system of conjugation during the change from Latin into French 339
229. The living conjugations 343
230. The dead conjugation 343

PAGE

I. First Living Conjugation.

231. Indicative mood 343
232. Imperative mood 346
233. Subjunctive mood 346
234. Infinitive mood 348
235. Compound tenses 348
236. Verbs formerly ending in -ier 348
237. Unification of the conjugation of verbs in -er, whose radical was subject to modification in Old French 349
238. Verbs in -er, of which the final close é in the infinitive is preceded by an e mute or another close é 349
239. Verbs in -yer 351
240. Verbs in -er preceded by a vowel 351
241. Verbs in -ger and -cer 351
242. The irregular verbs envoyer and aller 351

II. Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs).

243. The inchoative particle -iss- 353
244. Indicative mood 353
245. Imperative mood 356
246. Subjunctive mood 356
247. Infinitive mood 357
248. The irregular verbs bénir, fleurir, haïr, vêtir . . . 357

III. The Dead Conjugation.

249. The dead conjugation 359
250. Preterite and past participle 360
251. Infinitive, future, and conditional 365
252. Present participle 366
253. The three present tenses in the dead conjugation . . . 368
254. Peculiarities of certain verbs 369
(i) être; (ii) avoir; (iii) coudre; (iv) moudre; (v) †soudre, absoudre, &c.; (vi) offrir, souffrir, couvrir, cueillir, saillir; (vii) dire (lire); (viii) faire (plaire, taire); (ix) vaincre (†veintre); (x) bruire; (xi) gésir; (xii) tenir, venir; (xiii) †seoir; (xiv) choir; (xv) pouvoir.

CHAPTER IV.

INDECLINABLE WORDS.

255. The two kinds of indeclinable words 375

I. Words of Relation.

256. Words of relation (adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions) . 376
257. The form of French adverbs 376
258. Adverbs derived from Latin verbs 376
259. Adverbs formed from adjectives 377
260. Adverbs formed by composition 378

PAGE
261. Signification of adverbs 384
262. The origins of French prepositions 384
263. Prepositions derived from Latin prepositions 384
264. Prepositions of French formation 385
265. Signification of prepositions 386
266. Conjunctions properly so called 386
267. Conjunctive phrases 387
268. Signification of conjunctions 387

II. Interjections.

269. The interjection 387

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES 389
INDEX OF INTERCALATED CONSONANTS AND SYLLABLES 414
INDEX OF SUFFIXES AND TERMINATIONS . . 415

BOOK II

MORPHOLOGY, OR THE STUDY OF THE GRAMMATICAL FORMS

(GENERAL THEORY OF THE PARTS OF SPEECH)

123. THE PARTS OF SPEECH.—The words which taken collectively constitute the vocabulary of [illegible] language are divided into classes called **the parts** [illegible] **peech**[1].

Most modern grammarians recognize ten: the *noun* or *substantive, article, adjective, pronoun, verb*; *participle, adverb, preposition, conjunction,* and *interjection.* Some authors reduce these to eight or nine parts, classing the article with the adjective, and the participle with the verb.

The theory of the parts of speech comes to us direct from the grammarians of the 16th and 17th centuries. Its principles were handed down to them by the grammarians of the Middle Ages, as an inheritance from the Romans, who, in their turn, had derived these from Greek sources. In the course of time, and with the advance of grammatical science, the distinctions transmitted, which were originally vague, became more precise and rigorous. We need hardly say that in their establishment the peculiar genius

[1] [In French these are called *parties du discours* or *de l'oraison.*] *Oraison* is the Latin word *orationem*, and *discours* is its French rendering; these two expressions are used here in a somewhat remote sense.

of each language was necessarily taken into account: thus the Latin grammarians had no use for the article.

It is only in a general way that the modern classification corresponds to the facts dealt with. In matters of detail corrections are necessary.

We use language in order to exchange our thoughts with other men; it must therefore denote things (1) in themselves, that is to say *objectively*, and (2) in their relationship to us who speak, that is to say *subjectively*.

I. The *noun-substantive* and *noun-adjective*.—The *objective* aspect of things yields us our first class, that of words by which we denote things in themselves; these are the **nouns**. By nouns we indicate the things we see, and the appearances which strike us. In some cases we designate these directly in their nature and substance; we then employ the **noun-substantive**, e.g. *une* **fleur**. In other cases we further denote them indirectly by their qualities or attributes, and we use the **noun-adjective**: *une fleur* **rouge**.

The distinction between the noun-substantive and the noun-adjective is not absolute. Those substantives of which we know the etymological meaning may be traced back to adjectives, since we can only designate an object by means of its qualities, e.g. *une* **noire** (*crotchet*) means *une* **note noire** (*black note*); *une* **capitale** is *une* **ville capitale**. Inversely, the substantive again becomes an adjective when we leave out of consideration everything else, and use it to designate a single one of its qualities; from the substantive **rose** we get the adjective **rose** in *un ruban* **rose** (*a pink ribbon*).

We must, then, distinguish as the first part of speech the **noun**. Nouns are subdivided into **nouns-substantive**, or **substantives**, and **nouns-adjective**, or **adjectives**.

The word 'noun' is often used absolutely to designate the noun-substantive.

II. The *pronoun.*—Besides designating things and their qualities *objectively*, we designate them also *subjectively*, i. e. in their relation to ourselves, who are speaking. The words used for this purpose are **pronouns.** The function of every kind of pronoun is to locate things either in time or space, or else to determine their relation to the speaker, by means of some special character. They all seem to presuppose a gesture; and, if the expression were not paradoxical, we might call them spoken gestures.

The older grammarians, impressed by an accessory function sometimes assumed by words of this kind, namely the replacement of nouns, gave them the name of **pronomen,** i. e. **pro nomine,** 'in the place of the noun.' This term, handed down by the schools of the Middle Ages, has been preserved to this day. But, although it has the authority of age in its favour, it is none the less inaccurate. We may, it is true, say that in the sentence: **Jean court, il joue,** the word **il** replaces **Jean**; but in the sentence: **Je travaille, et toi, Pierre, tu joues,** neither **je** nor **tu** is used merely to replace the name of the person who speaks or the name of Pierre. These pronouns express something more: they show that someone (say Jean) is speaking, and that he is addressing Pierre. In the same way, if, in speaking of Jean and Pierre, I say: **Celui-ci travaille, celui-là joue,** the words **celui-ci** and **celui-là** not only designate **Jean** and **Pierre**; they indicate also their relation to myself who am speaking. Finally, in sentences like this: '**voici mon livre, voilà le tien,**' **mon** and **tien** are not only used to replace or designate **livre,** but to convey an essential and characteristic idea of possession.

The function of the pronoun is to express determinate relations existing between the person who is speaking and that which forms the subject of his speech. The true name of the pronoun should be the **demonstrative**; but custom has so consecrated the limited use of this latter word in one special sense that we cannot change it; and,

faulty though it is, we keep the ordinary name of pronoun, remembering, however, that it is really incorrect.

Pronouns as well as nouns are subdivided into **substantive** and **adjective.**

Substantive-pronouns designate either persons or things in themselves; **adjective-pronouns** designate them in the characteristic relations which we have just mentioned.

The former have received from French grammarians the special name of **pronouns,** and the latter the name of **determinative** (or **pronominal**) **adjectives.**

III. The *verb.*—The world which surrounds us and which is the subject of our speech is not a mere collection of facts and ideas; it is full of life and activity; the phenomena which impress our senses appear and disappear, showing aspects of infinite variety. Our languages have words to state the special modes of action presented to our mind by the persons or things of which we are speaking; these words are called **verbs.**

Modes of action are conceived by us in their relation to ourselves as well as to others, and we further note that actions have relations in time. To mark these distinctions, our verbs possess peculiar inflexions, of **mood, person,** and **tense.**

The verb unites the two different points of view expressed respectively by the noun and pronoun; since it expresses either action or life, both objectively and also relatively to the speaker.

The three classes of words which we have established above—viz., the **noun,** the **pronoun,** and the **verb**—include a larger number of classes employed by French grammarians, viz.: substantives, adjectives of quality (or attributive adjectives) and adjective-pronouns, pronouns, and verbs.

We omit from our classification the **article,** which is included in the adjective-pronoun, and the **participle,** which is only a tense of the verb. We have now therefore dealt with all the **variable** or **inflected** words.

IV. *Invariable or indeclinable words.*—Grammar also recognizes **invariable, indeclinable,** or **uninflected words,** which are divided into two groups: on the one hand, **adverbs, prepositions,** and **conjunctions,** and, on the other, **interjections.**

1. There is no absolute distinction between the adverb, the preposition, and the conjunction; all three serve to express the abstract relations uniting the other terms of the sentence, consisting of the nouns, pronouns, and verbs. These relations are general and constant in character; the words serving to express them require, therefore, no inflexion.

2. We must make a fifth class, a kind of appendix, for the **interjection.** The **interjection** is not a word, and does not really belong to the parts of speech; it is a cry which vaguely expresses a feeling of more or less intensity.

Such, then, is the general theory of the parts of speech in modern languages. Questions of detail which arise will be considered in their proper place.

CHAPTER I

ON THE NOUN-SUBSTANTIVE AND NOUN-ADJECTIVE

SECTION I.—*Of the various Kinds of Nouns.*

124. The various kinds of nouns.
I. 125. PROPER NOUNS.—126. Names of persons.—127. Names of things personified.—128. Names of nations, &c.—129. Geographical names.
II. COMMON NOUNS.—130. Common nouns, abstract and concrete; their extension and intension.—131. The sources of common nouns.
III. MATERIAL NOUNS.—132. Material nouns.
IV. NOUNS OF INDETERMINATE QUANTITY.—133. Collective nouns.—134. Adverbs which are true collectives.

V. NOUNS OF DETERMINATE QUANTITY.—135. Nouns of number (numerals).—136. Nouns of number, or cardinal nouns.—137. Nouns of order, or ordinal nouns.—138. Old forms of numerals in *-ain*, *-aine*.—139. General remarks on numerals.

VI. INDEFINITE NOUNS.—140. Indefinite nouns.—141. Indefinite substantives.—142. Indefinite adjectives.—143. Qualifying adjectives which may become indefinite adjectives.

WE shall first consider the various kinds of words which constitute the nouns-substantive. We shall afterwards treat of their inflexions.

124. THE VARIOUS KINDS OF NOUNS.—Nouns are divided, according to the ideas they express, into six groups:

1. *Proper nouns;*
2. *Common nouns;*
3. *Material nouns;*
4. *Collective nouns* or *nouns of indeterminate quantity;*
5. *Nouns of number* (*numerals*) or *nouns of determinate quantity;*
6. *Indefinite nouns.*

The substantives of the first four groups correspond to the adjectives termed *qualifying* adjectives. The fifth group contains *numeral* substantives and adjectives; and the sixth, *indefinite* substantives and adjectives.

I. Proper Nouns.

125. PROPER NOUNS.—The **proper noun** serves to designate the individual in himself; it is proper or personal to him.

It is applied (1) to persons: **Pierre, Jeanne**; (2) to personified things: **la Fortune, l'Amour**; (3) to nations: **la France, l'Angleterre**; to provinces: **la Champagne, la Bourgogne**; to places: **Paris, Sèvres**; (4) to geographical features: **Pyrénées, Seine**, &c.

Proper nouns begin with a capital letter.

126. NAMES OF PERSONS.—**Names of persons** in France

during the Middle Ages consisted at first solely of **first names**[1] (without surnames), as with the Hebrews, the Greeks, the Slavs, &c. Originally restricted to the individual, the name was extended to all members of the same family. **Pierre Simon** in Old French signified *Pierre* (*son of*) *Simon*, *Simon* being in the genitive.

Towards the middle of the 12th century **family names** first made their appearance. These names may be classified as follows:

I. **Christian names sanctioned by usage for several generations.** These may be divided into—

(i) *Latin names, or names of Greek or Hebrew origin Latinized and handed down by the Church:*

LATIN NAMES: Antoine (Antonin, Toinon, &c.[2]), Benoît (Benoîton, &c.), Clément (Clémenceau, &c.), Noël, Lenoël, Pascal (Pascalin), Paul (Paulin, Paulet, &c.), Pierre (Pierrot, Perrot, Perrotin, Perrottet, Perrin, Pierret, Perret, &c.).

GREEK NAMES: Ambroise, André (Andrieux, Androuet), Baptiste (Baptistin), Denis (Deniset, Denisot, Denisard, Nisard, &c.), Jérôme, Nicholas (Colas, Colin, Colinet, Collard, Collardeau, &c.).

HEBREW NAMES: Adam (Adenet), Barthélemy (Bartholomé, Bartholomieux, &c.), Daniel, Jacques or Jacob (Jacquet, Jacot, Jacquemin, Jacquart, &c.), Jean (Jeannet, Jeannot, Jeannin, &c.), Joseph (Josepet, Sepet, Jospin, &c.), Lazare (Eléazar, Elzéar), Matthieu or Macé, Simon or Siméon (Simonet, Simoneau, Simonin).

(ii) *Names of Teutonic origin, imported during the barbarian invasions:*

[1] *First* or *Christian names* (*petits noms*), as opposed to *family names*; the latter expression, though clear in itself, is really inexact. The Christian name is the real name, and was so especially in the Middle Ages, when family names did not exist. The family name is a kind of common noun.

[2] We have put derivatives from simple names into parentheses.

Archambaut, Arnoult, Aubry (Aubriot), Audry, Audefroi, Audiffret, Audigier, Augier, Aycard, Aymart, Aubert (Aubertin, Aubertot, Albert), Baudouin, Baudry (Baudrillard), Bernard (Bernardin, Bernardot), Bertaud, Bertrand, Ferry or Frédéric, Gaudefroy, Gaudry, Geoffroy (Jouffroy), Guichart, Guillaume (Guillemin, Guilleminot), Guiraut, Henri, Hubert, Lambert (Lambin), Léger, Louis, Manfred, Raynaud (Raynouard), Renauld (Renaudin, Renaudot, Naudet, Naudin), Renard, Regnier, Renier, Robert (Robertot), Sicard, Therriet, Therriot, Thierry, &c.

II. **Names derived from common nouns,** including—

(i) *Names taken from titles:* Bailli, Baron, Chevalier, Comte, Lamiral, Leduc, Lemaître, Lemoine, Leprêtre, Lévêque, Maréchal, Marquis, &c.

(ii) *Names derived from occupations:* Barbier, Berger, Boucher, Boulanger, Bouvier, Charpentier, Couvreur, Lefaucheux, Fèvre (= *smith*; also Lefèvre, Lefèbure), Fléchier, Sueur (= *shoe-maker*; also Lesueur), Tisserand, Tuilier, Vacher (Vacherot), Leverrier, &c.

III. **Epithets or nick-names.**

Beaufils, Lebègue, Blanc (Blanchet, Blanchard), Boileau, Bonfils, Bonhomme, Bonjean, Bossu, Brun, Lebrun (Brunet, Bruneau), Chassebœuf, Cornu, Grand, Legrand (Grandet, Grandin), Legris, Grison, Grossetête, Noir, Lenoir (Noirot), Panchaud, Panloup, Dupanloup, Petit, Lepetit, Rouge, Lerouge (Rouget, Rougeot), Roux, Leroux (Rousseau, Roussin), Taillebois, &c.

IV. **Names of animals.**

L'Aigle, Lebœuf, Lebouc, Brochet, Lechat, Chevrillard, Chevriot, Létourneau, Lelièvre, Merle, Loiseau, Poisson, Rossignol, &c.

V. A great number of names signifying objects of daily and rustic life, various parts of a house, &c.

Dubois, Bois, Boissier, Delaborde, Desbordes, Laborde, Dubreuil, Delabrousse, Brousse, Delabruyère, Bruyère, Duclos, Delacourt, Lacourt, Delessart, Desessart, Essart, Delafont, Lafont, Lafontaine, Fougère, Dufour, Delagrange, Desgranges, Lagrange, Delahaye, Deshaies, Lahaie, Desmarais, Marais, Maresc, Delamare, Desmares, Lamare, Delamarche, Lamarche, Dumaye, Dumesnil, Delamotte, Lamotte, Dumoulin, Moulin, Moulinier, Molinier, Duparc, Delaplace, Laplace, Duplessis, Poirier, De la Pommeraye, Pommier, Dupont, Duponcel, Delaporte, Desportes, Laporte, Prunier, Dupuis, Dupuy, Delarive, Larive, Larivière, Rivière, Delaroche, Desroches, Laroche, Duru, Duruy, Duval, Delavallée, Delaville, Laville.

VI. A great number of names of places with or without the particle DE.

Originally this particle was not a sign of nobility: thus we have **Jean d'Arras, Olivier de Magny.** Later on, the proposition *de* having been adopted as a sign of nobility, the name of the place became the family name of the person: **Bouillon, Mailly, Vitry, Wailly,** &c.

VII. Names of nationality.

Allemand, Lallemant, Langlois, Berrichon (= of Berry), Bourguignon, Breton, Bretonneau, Hennuyer (= of Hainaut), Limousin, Lorrain, Normand, Picard, Poitevin, Poulain (= Polonais).

Family names passed from the head of the family to the children without change of gender: **Jean Legrand, Jeanne Legrand,** because the name was no longer confined to one individual as it had been originally, but had become common to all the members of the same family. Thus

family names resemble common nouns in having only one gender. First names, being on the contrary proper nouns *par excellence*, and only used to denote individuals, still possess the inflexion of gender: **Jean, Jeanne.**

127. NAMES OF THINGS PERSONIFIED.—Things personified are represented as male or female beings, not according to our ideas of them, but solely in accordance with the gender of the common noun used to designate them. **La Renommée, La Fortune,** are represented as women, because *renommée* and *fortune* are feminine substantives; **le sort, le génie, le mal,** are represented as men, because *sort, génie, mal,* are masculine substantives; **l'Amour** is a goddess in Old French, a god in Modern French, because the word *amour* was formerly feminine but is now masculine.

Note.—To the class of *proper names of persons,* or *things personified,* we may add common nouns denoting objects which are *unique of their kind:* **le soleil, la lune, la nature.** In Old French they were treated as proper nouns (see Book IV, § 383, i).

128. NAMES OF NATIONS, &c.—**National names** denote countries: **Angleterre, France;** towns: **Londres, Paris;** and their inhabitants: **les Anglais, les Français, les Parisiens.**

The names of inhabitants, or *ethnological names,* are easily converted into adjectives: **le peuple français, la langue anglaise, la vie parisienne.** This kind of adjective, used in a particular sense, to denote the *language* of the corresponding country, is changed into a masculine noun, as in **l'anglais, le français, l'arabe, le chinois**[1].

129. GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.—Geographical names denote the features of the earth: mountains, peninsulas, promontories, valleys, watercourses, islands, &c.

[1] [The names of languages do not take the capital initial, which is strictly limited in French to proper nouns.]

Sometimes, and indeed most frequently, the proper noun is preceded by a common noun denoting its species, which either stands in apposition to it: **le mont Caucase, le cap Matapan**; or is united to it by means of the preposition **de**, with or without an article: **la rivière du Loing; le val d'Andorre.**

Sometimes the proper noun is used alone, either with or without the article: **la Seine, la Loire, la Lozère, la Corse, les Vosges; Belle-Isle, Noirmoutiers.**

French place-names have been formed either (1) during the French period, from French elements: **Belleville, Châteauneuf, Montrouge; Noirmoutiers**; or (2), during the period of the Franks, from Romanic or Teutonic elements, or from both Romanic and Teutonic elements: **Romainville, Fauquembergue, Haricourt**; or (3) during the Gallo-Roman period: such are the names so frequently found in **-ac, -ai, -ay, -ey, -é,** and **-y,** derived from names ending in **-iacum: Aurillac, Cambrai, Epernay, Cussey, Sévigné, Choisy**[1]; or finally, (4) they may date from the Gaulish period, as is no doubt most frequently the case, or even from an epoch previous to the invasion of Gaul by the Gauls, and thus owe their origin to the aboriginal population found by the Gauls in the conquered land. It is, perhaps, to these remote sources that we must ascribe a number of geographical names which have not yet been explained by means of any French, Latin, Teutonic, or Celtic root.

II. Common Nouns.

130. COMMON NOUNS, ABSTRACT AND CONCRETE; THEIR EXTENSION AND INTENSION.—The **common noun,** or, to be more exact, the **common substantive,** is a substantive which applies to all things of the same kind—**arbre, fleur, livre**—which do not denote any special tree, flower,

[1] See Book III, § 316, ii.

or book, but any one of all the existing trees, flowers, or books. Every individual of the tree kind, of the flower kind, of the book kind, may be denoted by these words.

The common noun, then, implies the classification into **genera** and **species** of all the things recognized in language, and expressed by substantives. In most cases the substantive was first applied to a definite object in virtue of some particular quality, which struck the mind; then, by successive generalizations, it was extended to all similar or analogous objects, so as to include them all in a collection which became a **species**. It was by an analogous process, as we have seen above, that family names were formed; for these were originally true proper nouns, or names of individuals, and were later extended to the collection of individuals constituting the species called **the family**.

Common nouns are either **concrete** or **abstract**, according as they denote the material objects which strike our senses, e.g. **mur, table, pied, main,** or the ideas which exist in our mind, e. g. **bonté, sagesse, vertu.**

A common noun, concrete or abstract, has greater or less **extension,** according as it applies to a larger or a smaller number of things, that is according as the species which it denotes is more or less numerous. It has greater or less **intension** according as the objects denoted by it have a larger or smaller number of characteristic attributes. Thus:

végétal (vegetable)	has greater extension	than		*plante* (*plant*)
plante (plant)	"	"	"	*arbre* (*tree*)
arbre (tree)	"	"	"	*chêne* (*oak*)
chêne (oak)	"	"	"	*yeuse* (*holm-oak, ilex*)

On the other hand:

yeuse	has greater intension	than		*chêne*
chêne	"	"	"	*arbre*
arbre	"	"	"	*plante*
plante	"	"	"	*végétal*

The extension and intension of the common noun are then in inverse relation to one other.

131. THE SOURCES OF COMMON NOUNS.—A limited number of common nouns come from the corresponding substantives in Popular Latin, of which they are the *phonetic transformation*, e. g. **homme, femme, fils, fille, feuille, mer, table** (from **hominem, femina, filius, filia, folia, mare, tabulam**), &c.

A great number have been formed by derivation from primitive **words** of this kind, either during the Gallo-Roman period or during the development of the French language, e. g. **pass-age, épouvant-ail, sol-eil, cord-eau, herb-ette.**

Other substantives have been formed from the same class of words by composition, e. g. **chou-fleur, pla(t)-fond, porte-plume.**

A great number of others are due directly to the learned formation from Latin or Greek words, which were sometimes left in their original form, but more often gallicised, e. g. **apathie, aristocratie, squelette** (from ἀπάθεια; ἀριστοκρατία; σκελετός), **dévotion, sujet** (from **devotio, subjectus**), **ultimatum.**

A few have been taken from foreign languages: most of these have been gallicised; a few, however, retain more or less faithfully their original form: e. g. **alambic** (Arabic), **douane** (Italian,) **havre-sac** (German), **mandarin** (Portuguese), **pédant** (Greek), **sérail** (Persian), **truchement** (Arabic = *dragoman*), &c.[1]

III. Material Nouns.

132. MATERIAL NOUNS.—**Material nouns** denote things formed from the same substance, or of similar parts, of which each bears the same name as the whole: **bois, eau, pierre, vin.** These words denote alike the whole

[1] See Book III on *The Formation of Words.*

quantity of wine, water, stone, or wood that exists in the world, and any portion, however small, of these materials or substances.

The objects thus named do not form a collection of units having each its own individuality; thus material nouns are names of things that are not estimated by number. This is why they are only used in the singular. But by a process of abstraction they may sometimes be supposed to include quantities that may be counted up. In this case they become common nouns and are used in the plural: **les blés ont réussi cette année; les eaux**[1]—referring to the sum of the various masses of water or of corn in a given district.

IV. Nouns of Indeterminate Quantity.

133. COLLECTIVE NOUNS.—**Nouns of indeterminate quantity,** or **collective nouns,** denote assemblages or collections of persons, or of things: **foule, multitude, troupe.**

They are divided into **general collective** and **partitive collective nouns** according as they denote the totality, or part of the collection, as in (1) **le troupeau des humains** (*the human flock*), and (2) **un troupeau d'ignorants** (*a flock of ignorant people*), i. e. not including all ignorant people.

The study of these words belongs to syntax.

134. ADVERBS WHICH ARE TRUE COLLECTIVES.—To the class of partitive collectives belong a certain number of words which grammarians place among adverbs, and which are, in reality, substantives or adjectives employed absolutely (see § 260, iii). These are:

Beaucoup, properly *beau coup* (*coup* in Old French was

[1] [In English the corresponding expression would be 'The corn has done well this year,' but we sometimes use 'the waters' in the same way as the French *les eaux.*]

used to signify *quantity*; *grand coup*, like *beau coup* = a large quantity).

Trop, the masculine form of *troupe*, used absolutely in Old French to denote a large, or excessive, quantity.

Pas, point, mie; these are negative particles, which originally denoted indefinitely small quantities. The expressions **il n'a pas, point, mie d'amis** mean 'he has not so much as a *pas* (step), *point* (dot), *miette* (crumb), of friends.' The partitive value of these words is made obvious in Modern French by the preposition **de**, used after these words and before the objective case, as in *il a* **plus, moins, peu, tant, autant d'***argent*; **que d'***argent il a!* [1]

By analogy other words which are true adverbs have been similarly formed: **assez, bien, guère** (the synonym of **beaucoup** in negative sentences); they are used with the same grammatical construction as the neuter nouns just quoted.

V. Nouns of Determinate Quantity.

135. NOUNS OF NUMBER (NUMERALS).—Nouns of number, or numerals, are divided into **cardinal** nouns, which denote *number*, and **ordinal** nouns, which denote *order*. The word **ordinal** explains itself; it is borrowed from the Latin adjective **ordinalis**, derived from **ordinem** (*order*). The word **cardinal** means *fundamental* and comes from the Latin **cardinalis**, derived from **cardinem** signifying *door-hinge*, and, figuratively, *foundation* [2].

The nouns denoting number were called cardinals because they are the basis from which nouns of order are formed; for all the ordinal numerals, except the first, are derived from the corresponding cardinals by the addition of the suffix **-ième** (e. g. **deux, deuxième**).

[1] See Syntax, § 484.

[2] It is in this sense of *fundamental* that *cardinal* is still used in the phrases *vertus cardinales* (*cardinal virtues*), *points cardinaux* (the *cardinal points of the compass*).

136. NOUNS OF NUMBER PROPER, OR CARDINAL NOUNS.—These nouns are derived from the corresponding Latin nouns, which have been more or less modified by phonetic or analogical action.

(i) The cardinals from 1 to 16:

From 1 to 16 inclusively the French nouns of number have been derived from the Latin numerals by regular phonetic change.

	Class. Lat.	Pop. Lat.	O. F.	Mod. F.
1	**ūnum**	**ūnu**	*un, ung*	*un*
	ūnam	**ūna**	*une*	*une*
2	**dŭos**	**dóos**	*dóus, dós*	*deux*
	dŭas	**dóas**	*dóes*	
3	**trēs**	**tréś**	*treis, trois*	*trois*
4	**quattŭŏr**	**quattor**	*quatre*	*quatre*
5	**quĭnque**	**cinque**	*cinc*	*cinq*
6	**sĕx**	**sèx**	*sis*	*six*
7	**sĕptem**	**sèpte**	*set*	*sept*
8	**ŏcto**	**òcto**	*uit*	*huit*
9	**nŏvem**	**nòve**	*nuof, nuef*	*neuf*
10	**dĕcem**	**dèce**	*dis*	*dix*
11	**ūndĕcim**	**ūndece**	*onze*	*onze*
12	**duŏdĕcim**	**dódece**	*doze*	*douze*
13	**trēdĕcim**	**trédece**	*treze*	*treize*
14	**quattuŏrdĕcim**	**quattòrdece**	*quatorze*	*quatorze*
15	**quĭndĕcim**	**quindece**	*quinze*	*quinze*
16	**sĕxdĕcim**	**sèxdece**	*seize*	*seize*

Notes.—**Un.**—In Latin **unus** was declined both in the singular and plural: thus we find in the plural **uni Suevi, unae litterae.**

In Old French **un** was used in the plural in the same manner: **uns esperons, unes estoiles, unes lettres**[1].

[1] Note that in Latin the plural of *unus* is either (1) used in the sense of *alone* (in French, *seul*): **uni Suevi**, 'the Suevi alone'; or (2) precedes a substantive which either, like *castra* (*a camp*), is only used in

In Modern French it is no longer used in the plural except as an indefinite adjective: **les uns**[1].

In Middle French the masculine of **un** was written **ung**. The final **g** is merely a sign introduced in orthography to avoid the confusion between **un**, written in manuscripts **vn**, and the figure **vii**.

The question of the occasional absence of elision before **un** is discussed under **huit**, below.

Deux.—The feminine **dóes** belongs to the oldest French and disappeared during the 12th century. The masculine, which during the 12th century was also used for the feminine, has regularly served for both genders from the 13th century onwards.

Dóus, dos, was converted towards the 14th century into **deus** (§ 94), and then, by assimilation with the plurals in **-eux**, into **deux**.

In Old French, along with the accusative forms **dóus, dos,** a nominative plural **doi** was formed, which disappeared with the declension at the end of the Middle Ages.

Trois.—In the same way a nominative **trei, troi,** was formed in Old French, which, like **doi**, has disappeared.

Cinq.—In Popular Latin **quinque** was changed at an early period into **cinque** (§ 79); hence the French **cinc**, or, with the spelling derived later from its etymology, **cinq**.

Six and **dix.**—At the end of the Middle Ages the regular spelling **sis** was replaced by the spelling **six**,

the plural, or, like *litterae*, has a different sense in the plural (*epistle*) from that which it has in the singular (*letter of the alphabet*). Similarly, in Old French, *uns* denotes (1) a *pair* in *uns esperons, uns sollers, unes chauces* (*a pair of spurs, of shoes, of breeches*); or (2) the whole class of objects of the same kind in *unes estoiles, uns vers, unes paroles*; or (3), as in Latin, is used before a word having different meanings in the singular and plural, as *unes letres* (sing. *letter of the alphabet*, plur. *epistle*), *unes fourches* (sing. *pitch-fork*, plur. *gallows*), *uns ciseaus* (sing. *chisel*, plur. *pair of scissors*). [See a passage in *Aucassin et Nicolete*, ed. Suchier, 3rd edit. p. 28.]

[1] See below, p. 196.

written so as to recall the Latin **sex**; and this form, by a false analogy, led to the change of **dis** into **dix**.

Sept.—The **p** in **sept** is similarly due to considerations of etymology; the old pronunciation **sèt'** has been hitherto maintained in spite of the new spelling.

Huit (and **un**) and **onze.**—The old French spelling was **uit** or sometimes **huit** with a silent **h**[1]. The **h** has remained down to the present day silent in **dix-huit, vingt-huit,** &c., which are pronounced **di-z-uit, vin-t-uit.** But as all the nouns of number commence with a consonant, except **un, huit,** and **onze,** after a time, owing to analogy, the final **e** of a preceding word was pronounced, and not elided, before these three numerals also. Just as people said **le deux, le trois,** &c., they said, similarly, **le un, le huit, le onze.** This is why before **un** in certain cases, and before **huit** and **onze** as a general rule, we now have a hiatus. The change naturally applied also to the derivatives **unième, huitième, onzième, huitain, onzain.** The new pronunciation originated in the 14th century[2], but only triumphed finally at the end of the 18th century.

Corneille [1606–1684] still uses the form **l'onzième.** The edition of the *Dictionary of the French Academy* of 1718 states that **le onze du mois** and **l'onze du mois** are used equally; that of 1762 gives as examples: **l'onzième page** and **la onzième page.**

(ii) From 17 to 19:

In Classical Latin 17, 18, and 19 are represented by **septẹmdĕcim, octọdĕcim, novẹmdĕcim.** If these compounds

[1] Like the *g* in *ung* (see p. 195), the *h* in *huit* is due to an artifice of caligraphy. It served to indicate that the following letter was a *u* and not a *v*, and to prevent the word from being read *vit*; cf. *uile* (from *ŏlea*), *uis* (from *ŏstium*), written *huile, huis,* so as to distinguish them from *vile, vis.*

[2] Richars li Restorés la *onsime* mena (Mod. F. *Richard le Restoré mena la onzième*) (*Li Bastars de Buillon*, edit. Scheler, l. 3002).

had been preserved in Popular Latin they would have given in French **setenze, uitoze, novenze.** In Popular Latin they were replaced by analytical forms which were adopted by Old, and are now used in Modern French:

Pop. Lat.	O. F.	Mod. F.
decem et septem	*dix et sept*	*dix-sept*
decem et octo	*dix et huit*	*dix-huit*
decem et novem	*dix et neuf*	*dix-neuf*

(iii) From 20 to 100:

	Class. Lat.	Pop. Lat.	O. F.	Mod. F.
20	**Vigĭnti**	**veinti**	*vint*	*vingt*
30	**Trigĭnta**	**treénta**	*trente*	*trente*
40	**Quadragĭnta**	**quadraénta**	*quarante*	*quarante*
50	**Quinquagĭnta**	**cinquaénta**	*cinquante*	*cinquante*
60	**Sexagĭnta**	**sexaénta**	*seissante*	*soixante*
70	**Septuagĭnta**	**septaénta**	*setante* / *seissante et dis*	*septante* / *soixante-dix*
80	**Octuagĭnta**	**octaénta**	*huitante* / *quatre vins*	*octante* / *quatre-vingts*
90	**Nonagĭnta**	**nonaénta**	*nonante* / *quatre vins et dis*	*nonante* / *quatre-vingt-dix*
100	**Cĕntum**	**cèntu**	*cent*	*cent*

Notes.—The spelling in Modern French of **vingt** with a **g**, **soixante** with an **x**, **septante** with a **p**, and the use of **octante** (from **octo**) for **huitante**, are due to the desire of the men of letters of the Renaissance to bring etymological derivations into evidence.

Septante is still used in the expression **la Version des Septante**, the *Septuagint*, or Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible made by seventy-two Jewish doctors under the Lagidae.

The forms for 70, 80, 90 commonly used in French are

soixante-dix, quatre-vingts, quatre-vingt-dix; in certain provinces of Northern and Eastern France the forms **septante, octante** (rare), **nonante,** are used. We must now consider this double series of names.

Septante, octante, and **nonante** are formed on the model of the preceding tens and are founded on the Latin decimal system. In **soixante-dix, quatre-vingts, quatre-vingt-dix,** the traces of the *vigesimal* system which was in use among the Gauls are evident[1]. The Gauls forgot their own language and learnt that of their conquerors, but they were unable to entirely discard their own system of numeration, and introduced this into the new language. The two systems remained side by side during the Middle Ages, when we find, coexisting, the forms **trente et deux** and **vingt et douze, quarante et trois** and **deux-vingts et trois, cent cinquante et huit** and **sept-vingts et dix-huit**[2].

[1] [Corresponding to the English counting by *scores.*]

[2] *Deus vins* chevaliers ot o sei (Mod. F. *Il eut avec soi* (*lui*) *quarante chevaliers*) (*Bel inconnu*, ed. Hippeau, l. 5374).

En ocist Deus des maistres de la terre *treis vinz et diz* (Mod. F. *Dieu tua des maîtres de la terre soixante-dix*) (*Livres des Rois*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, p. 23).

Quatre vins laisse de chevaliers de pris (Mod. F. *Il laisse quatre-vingts chevaliers de valeur*) (*Garin le Loherain*, ed. P. Paris, i. p. 170).

De toz les *sis vins* chevaliers (Mod. F. *De tous les cent-vingts chevaliers*) (Villehardouin, § 213).

Set vint mil armés ont promis (Mod. F. *Ils ont promis cent quarante mille hommes armés*) (Wace, *Brut*, ed. Leroux de Lincy, ii. p. 136, l. 11412).

Huit vint en ot a sa banière (Mod. F. *Il en eut sous sa bannière cent-soixante*) (*Bel inconnu*, l. 5464).

Nuef vinz et set en i ot ars (Mod. F. *Il y en eut cent quatre-vingt sept de brûlés*) (*Philippe Mousket*, ed. de Reiffenberg, l. 30529).

Neuf vinz en sont à soi issu (Mod. F. *Cent quatre-vingt sont sortis avec lui*) (*Bel inconnu*, l. 5385).

Onze vinz i poissiez choisir (Mod. F. *Vous pourriez y voir deux cent vingt*) (*Garin le Loherain*, ii. p. 143).

Il ne me fu demourei de remenant que *douze vins* livres de tournois

Old manuscripts are paged in general according to the vigesimal system: to mark p. 138, the scribes wrote C.XX.XVIII. Modern usage has caused the Roman system to prevail. But the triumph of this system is not absolute, since **septante, huitante,** and **nonante** have been replaced by **soixante-dix, quatre-vingts, quatre-vingt-dix.** During the 17th century **six-vingts** for **cent-vingt** was used currently, and **quinze-vingts** for **trois cents** is so used still, and preserved in the expression **les Quinze-Vingts**[1].

(iv) From 100 to 1000:

In these numbers, French abandoned the Latin use of the compounds **ducenti, trecenti,** &c., and had recourse to combinations that were new, though analogous in formation: **deux cents, trois cents,** &c.

The Latin singular **mille** has become the French **mil**; the Latin plural **millia,** the French **mille.** In Old French, people said: *un* **mil, mil hommes,** but **deux mille.** However, confusion soon arose in this matter. From the 11th century we see **mil** used in the plural as well as **mille,** and from the 12th century **mille** was used in the singular, the two forms being employed indifferently. However, the form **mille** became dominant and finally prevailed.

Since the 17th century **mil** has been dropped, except for a special purpose sanctioned by the use of many hundred years, viz. the numeration of years later than the first thousand of the Christian era: **l'an mil huit cent**

(Mod. F. *Il ne me demeura en reste que deux cent quarante livres tournois*) (Joinville, § 136).

Quatorze vins en ont copez les chiés (Mod. F. *Ils ont coupé la tête à deux cent quatre-vingts*) (*Jourdain de Blaivies*, ed. Hofmann, l. 125).

Quinze vins nés *et quatre* furent (Mod. F. *Il y eut trois cent quatre nefs* (= vaisseaux)) (*Brut*, i. p. 30, l. 615).

Some de cen *dis set vins* livres et seissante huit (Mod. F. *Le tout est quatre cent huit livres*) (*Romania*, i. p. 346, l. 27).

[1] A blind-asylum in Paris.

quatre-vingt treize[1]. The substantive **millier**[2] has been derived from **mille.**

(v) From 1001 to 1,000,000:

For the numbers higher than 1000 and lower than 1,000,000, French makes use of multipliers preceding **mille**, and of additional numbers following it: **trois mille quarante six**, that is *three times a thousand, plus forty, plus six*; **deux cent vingt-cinq mille huit cent cinquante quatre**, that is *two hundred and twenty-five times one thousand, plus eight hundred, plus fifty, plus four*[3].

To express *a million*, in Old French, periphrases such as **mil milie, milante mil, dis fois cent mile** were used. The word **million** was borrowed in the 15th century from the Italian **milione**, which is the Latin **mille** with the suffix **-ione.**

(vi) 1,000,000,000, &c.

In the 16th and 17th centuries **milliasse** was sometimes used for **milliard**; in the 18th and 19th, the suffix was changed, and the word now used for a thousand million is **milliard.**

(vii) **Billion, trillion,** &c., are nouns of learned forma-

[1] Cel jorn i out *cent mil lairmes* ploredes (Mod. F. *Ce jour-là on versa cent mille larmes*) (*Vie de Saint Alexis*, ed. G. Paris, 119).

De *dis mil* homes j'oi en ma compaignie,
N'en remaint pas, mon escient, *un mille.*
(Mod. F. *De dix mille hommes que j'eus en ma compagnie,*
Il n'en reste pas, que je sache, un mille.)
(*Ogier le Danois*, ed. Scheler, l. 5453.)

Plus de *mille mercis* en di (Mod. F. *Je vous en dis plus de mille mercis*) (*Theâtre français au moyen âge*, p. 229).

De *trente mil* que nous fumes, nous sommes que *dis mil* (Mod. F. *De trente mille que nous fûmes, nous ne sommes que dix mille*) (*Aiol*, ed. Normand and Raynaud, l. 9394).

And again in Clément Marot: *cent mil* grands philosophes (Mod. F. *cent mille grands philosophes*) (ed. Jannet i. p. 113); *cent mille* esprits (ibid. p. 59).

[2] [*Millier* corresponds to *mille*, just as *dozen* corresponds to *twelve.*]

[3] [English usage is, of course, precisely similar.]

tion, on the model of **million**, and are abbreviated forms for **bi-million**, **tri-million**, &c., and in fact, both in the 16th and 17th centuries, meant two, three, &c., *millions of millions*. Since the 18th century the words have been used as follows: **billion** = *a thousand million* (and is hence equivalent to **milliard**); **trillion** = *a thousand thousand million*, &c.

General remarks.—In the numerals formed by addition the component elements were originally connected by the conjunction **et**. **Vingt-six** was in Old French **vingt et six**, **cent trente sept** was **cent trente et sept**. Villehardouin begins his *Histoire de la quatrième Croisade* with these words: 'Sachiez que l'an **mil et cent et quatre-vint et dis-set** ans apres l'Incarnation,' &c. The conjunction was not written down when numbers were denoted by figures; and in mediaeval texts written in verse it is often necessary to re-establish the **et** in reading, in order to preserve the metre.

But the habit of reading numbers as they were written, and the haste of speech, gradually led to the suppression of the **et**. In the 16th and 17th centuries **et** was used to connect units with tens, and tens with units: *six vints* **et** *dix-huit charretees* (Rabelais, *Pantagruel*, ii, 33). *Folz a vingt* **et** *cinq quarraz* [Mod. F. *Fou à vingt-cinq carats*], *dont les vingt* **et** *quatre font le tout* (Des Periers, *Nouvelles Récréations*, ii, 17). *Ignorante à vingt* **et** *trois carats* (La Fontaine, *Fables*, vii, 15). Corneille [1606–1684] usually says *les vingt* **et** *quatre heures*; Richelet in his Dictionary (1680) noted the new usage, but it was not completely accepted in the Dictionary of the Academy of 1694.

At the present day the conjunction **et** is only placed before **un** and before **onze**: in *vingt* **et** *un*, *trente* **et** *un*, *quarante* **et** *un*, *cinquante* **et** *un*, *soixante* **et** *un*, *soixante* **et** *onze*; in *quatre-vingt-un*, *quatre-vingt-onze*, *cent-un*, the **et** is omitted. Similarly we have *les mille* **et** *un jours*, *les mille* **et** *une nuits*. These are the last remnants of the old construction.

137. NOUNS OF ORDER, OR ORDINAL NOUNS.

(i) The Popular Latin masculine and feminine forms for *first* were **primus, prima**; in Old French these became **prin** (preserved in *printemps*) and **prime**. Later on, the feminine form *prime* was also used in the masculine; it still exists in *prime-abord, primesaut* (*O. F. prinsaut*), *prime-vère, a prime* (= in mathematics, *a* dash, *a'*).

The Latin **primus** had given a derivative **primarius, primaria,** which became **premier, première. Premier** in its turn gave a derivative *premerain, premeraine,* which was not preserved.

Premier is the only ordinal noun which does not come from the corresponding ordinal number. The ordinal **un** only gives an ordinal noun, **unième,** in the compounds **vingt-et-unième,** &c.

(ii) For *second,* in Classical Latin, the words **secundus, secunda,** and **alter** were used; in Popular Latin **secundus** was rejected and **alter** was preserved. The latter became the Old French *altre, autre,* which until the 16th century kept the meaning of **second**[1]. In the 12th century, however, the learned formation had taken **second** (with the fem. **seconde**) from Classical Latin, while the popular formation had derived from **deux** a new ordinal adjective by means of a new suffix. This suffix, which we shall find again in all other nouns of order, was in the 12th century **-isme** or **-ime,** and sometimes **-iesme**; in the 13th century **-iesme,** and later **-ième**; it probably represents a Latin termination **-ęsimus**[2]. This suffix, applied to **dous, dos,** gave **dousisme, dousime, dosisme, dosime**; and then, when **dous, dos,** became **deus, deux,** these forms gave **deusiesme, deuxiesme, deuxième.** Hence the two modern forms for second, *second* and *deuxième.*

(iii) The Latin forms **tertius, tertia,** gave in French

[1] *L'un . . ., l'autre . . ., le tiers . . .* Saint Gelais, ed. Blanchemain, ii. 104.

[2] The formation of this suffix is still obscure. We do not know why *-esimus* did not give *-esme, -ême.*

tiers, tierce. These are still used both as adjectives and substantives: *parler du tiers et du quart* (*to speak of everybody*), *le tiers d'un nombre, le tiers état, une fièvre tierce* (*tertian fever*), *une tierce* (a thrust in fencing).

In the 12th and 13th centuries the language formed from the cardinal **treis, trois,** the ordinal **treisisme, troisisme,** and hence **troisième.**

(iv) The Latin forms **quartus, quarta,** remained in French as **quart, quarte,** until the 17th century: *un quart voleur survient* (La Fontaine, *Fables*, i, 13); they exist even at the present day in the time-honoured expressions: *parler du tiers et du quart, le quart d'un nombre, une fièvre quarte, une quarte.* In the 12th and 13th centuries **quatre** gave rise to **quatrisme, quatrime,** which gave **quatriesme,** and hence **quatrième.**

(v) The Latin forms **quintus, quinta,** gave in Old French **quint** and **quinte,** which is still used as a feminine substantive *une quinte*[1]. From **quinque,** Gallo-Romanic had derived, by analogy with **septimus** and **decimus,** the ordinal **cinquimus,** in O.F. *cincme,* which disappeared in the 12th century before the new derivative taken from *cinq:* **cinquisme, cinquime, cinquiesme,** and hence **cinquième.**

(vi) The Popular Latin **sextus, sexta,** had given the O.F. **siste,** which disappeared, in the earliest period of the language, before a new derivative **sisme,** from the Popular Latin **seximus**; and this, in its turn, disappeared towards the 12th century before the derivative **sisisme, sisime, sisiesme,** whence **sixième. Sextus,** through the Italian *sexto,* has given rise to the proper noun **Sixte,** as in *Sixte-Quint* (Sixtus V), and, through the Spanish *siesta,* to the feminine substantive **sieste** (the sixth hour's rest).

(vii) **Septimus** gave the O.F. **sedme,** which disappeared in the 12th century before the new derivative **setisme, setiesme, septiesme,** whence **septième.**

[1] An attack of coughing, supposed to recur every fifth hour.

(viii) **Octavus** had disappeared from popular use in Northern Gallo-Romanic before a derivative **octimus**, which gave the primitive French **uidme**; this disappeared in the 12th century before **uitisme, uitiesme**, from which came **huitiesme**, and the modern **huitième** [see **huit** above]. **Octavus** was taken up again by the learned formation in the term *une octave.*

(ix) The Latin forms **nonus, nona**, disappeared in the same way before the Gallo-Romanic **novimus, novima**, in primitive French **nofme**, which in its turn disappeared in the 12th and 13th centuries before **novisme, noviesme**, whence **neuvième.**

(x) The Latin forms **decimus, decima**, gave the O. F. **disme**, preserved in the feminine substantive *la dîme* (*tithe*); in the 12th and 13th centuries appeared **disisme, disiesme**, whence **dixième.**

From the 12th century all ordinal numbers were formed or re-formed from the corresponding cardinal numbers by addition of the suffix **-isme, -ime, -iesme, -ième.** Thus were formed first **onzime, dozime, trezime, quatorzime, quintisme, sezime, disetisme, diseuitisme, disenuevime, vintisme**, and, later on, **onzième**, &c., **vingtième**, &c., **centième, millième, millionième**, &c. In the same manner the ordinal numbers taken from compound cardinal numbers have been formed by the addition of the suffix to the last component of the cardinal number: **vingt-quatre** does not give *vingtième et quatrième*, but **vingt-et-quatrième** or **vingt-quatrième**; in fact **la vingt-et-quatrième** part of a thing is not equivalent to *la vingtième* et *la quatrième*[1].

138. Old forms of numerals in **-ain, -aine.**—Old French possessed a suffix **-ain, -aine**, used in the formation of (1) ordinal nouns: *la terzaine partie, une fièvre quartaine* (now

[1] [English usage is exactly parallel: from the cardinal twenty-four we get the ordinal twenty-fourth.]

obsolete); and of (2) cardinal numbers denoting a collection of objects: *une huitaine, une neuvaine, une dizaine, une douzaine; un terzain, un quatrain, un sixtain, un huitain, un douzain.* In modern usage these nouns have acquired special significations; in the masculine they denote stanzas of a corresponding number of lines; in the feminine, in ordinary language an approximate quantity: **une douzaine de personnes** (some twelve people, more or less[1]); in arithmetic, units of a certain order[2].

139. General remarks on numerals.—Cardinals and ordinals are either adjectives, as in **cinq personnes, la cinquième partie**; or substantives, as in **le cinq** (*the fifth of the month*), **le cinquième** (*the fifth*). Cardinals are also substantives when they are used in an absolute construction: *cinq fois* **cinq** *font* **vingt-cinq**; or in apposition to a substantive: **le nombre cinq.** They do not take the sign of the plural (see Syntax, § 377, ii).

VI. Indefinite Nouns.

140. Indefinite nouns.—Indefinite nouns denote persons and things in a general and indefinite manner.

Some are essentially *substantives,* others essentially *adjectives.* These latter, however, may be used substantively.

Some are derived from demonstrative or relative pronouns, and have been influenced by their origin.

141. Indefinite substantives.—The **indefinite** substantives are **on, personne, chose,** and **rien.**

On (or, with the article, **l'on**) is in the Old French declension the subject case of a substantive of which the object case is *homme.* In Popular Latin the singular **homo**

[1] [Cf. *dozen* in English: *a round dozen, a baker's dozen,* &c.; *huitaine* and *neuvaine* have also the special meanings of 'about a week' and 'a nine days' (religious) retreat.']

[2] [*Les dizaines, les centaines* = in English, the *tens,* the *hundreds.*]

was used as a substantive where in Classical Latin the plural was generally used, as in **homo dicit**, in the sense of the Classical Latin *homines dicunt*. This use of **on** appears already in the *Oaths of Strasburg*: *Si cum* **om** *son fradra salvar dift* (in Mod. F. *ainsi comme on son frère sauver doit*). But in this sentence we find **on** capable of being separated from the verb, and receiving the *tempus forte*. Later on, it became an *atonic proclitic*, and can now only be separated from the verb by other atonic words: thus we may say **on dit, on me le dit**, and **on dit vrai, on ne me dit pas tout**, but not *on vrai dit, on me ne pas tout dit*.

Personne and **chose**, originally only feminine substantives, may be used absolutely in an indeterminate sense, and then become masculine. **Personne** is used in negative sentences: **Personne n'est venu** (*nobody has come*); and elliptically: **Est-il venu quelqu'un ? Personne** (i. e., *Personne n'est venu*) (see § 483). **Chose** is used similarly in the expressions **autre chose, quelque chose: quelque chose de bon, autre chose de neuf.**

Rien, from the Latin **rem**, *thing*, was in Old French a feminine substantive: **les riens que j'aime** (*the things which I like*). It is now an indefinite masculine substantive: **ce n'est rien, je n'ai rien de bon** (see § 483).

142. INDEFINITE ADJECTIVES.—The **indefinite adjectives** are **aucun, autre, chacun** and **chaque, maint, même, nul, plusieurs, quant, quel, quelque, tout, tel**, and **un**.

These adjectives may be used as substantives; some of them absolutely: **tous prétendent** (that is, *tous les hommes prétendent*); **plusieurs affirment** (that is, *plusieurs hommes affirment*); others only when accompanied by a determinative word: **l'un dit, quelqu'un dit**, and not *un dit*.

Aucun, from the O. F. **alque** (Lat. **aliquem**) and **un**, was at first equivalent to the modern **quelqu'un** (*some one*). It has still this sense in **aucuns prétendent, d'aucuns**

disent (*some say*). The habit of using **aucun** in negative phrases transformed it into a negative term, like *personne, rien*, &c., as in **aucun** (= *no-one*) **n'en veut.** The negative use is obvious in elliptical sentences, such as: **y a-t-il des absents?—Aucun** (that is, *Il n'y a aucun absent, There is no one absent*). **Aucun** has thus become synonymous with **nul** (see Syntax, § 483).

Autre, formerly **altre** (Lat. *alter*). In Old French **altre, autre,** was declined and had an oblique case **altrui, autrui,** which was then, and is still, used only as an object case: **nuire à autrui, le bien d'autrui.** Consequently **autrui** can never be a nominative, just as **on** can never be an accusative.

Autre may be combined with the article: **l'autre, un autre.** It is opposed to **un,** as in **l'un, l'autre; l'un et l'autre; l'un ou l'autre**[1].

Chacun, formerly **chascun,** from the Latin **quisque unum,** which became **cascunum** under the influence of another compound, **cat(a)-unum,** was both an adjective and a substantive: **chascun homme, un chascun, tout un chascun**[2]. The two last constructions are still to be found in the 17th century, and have survived in some of the provinces.

Chaque, formerly **chesque,** from the Latin **quisque,** little used in Old French, became more frequent especially in the 16th century, and now tends to replace *chacun*. It has replaced *chacun* as an adjective, and is beginning even to replace it as a substantive; the common people say **ces livres coûtent cinq francs chaque,** and not *chacun*.

Maint, a word of Celtic origin, is tending to become obsolete: its loss would be regrettable. It was at one time both an adjective and a substantive: *maintes gens prétendent, maints prétendent* (*not a few affirm*). It is now only an adjective.

[1] [As in English the words *one* and *other*.]

[2] [These expressions are more emphatic synonyms of *chacun*.]

Même is derived from the Popular Latin **metipsimum**, a word composed of the pronominal particle **met** and a popular superlative of the pronoun **ipse** (*himself*). It signifies, then, by a perfectly natural pleonasm, *his very self* (*tout à fait lui-même*). This word passed through the forms *medesme* (11th century), *meesme* (12th century), and *mesme* (15th century) before it assumed its present form. It is used as an adjective: *le même homme* (*the same man*), *l'homme même* (*the man himself*); and as a substantive with a determinative: *le même* (*the same*).

Nul, from the Latin **nullus** (*no one*), had in Old French an oblique case **nului**, which has disappeared; although *nul* has in itself a negative sense, it cannot be used without a negative statement (see Syntax, § 483). It is either an adjective: *nul homme ne croit*; or a substantive: *nul ne croit.*

Plusieurs, from the Popular Latin **plusiores**[1], is either an adjective: *plusieurs personnes prétendent;* or a substantive: *plusieurs prétendent.*

Quant, an old adjective derived from the Latin **quantus**[2], is only used in the expression, itself obsolete, *quantes et quantes fois* (*time and again*), in *toutes fois et quantes* (*each and every time*). It had a correlative **tant**, which disappeared from use as an adjective at an early date, and is now only used as an adverb.

Quel, from the Latin **qualis**, indicates generally the manner in which anything exists (in English, *how*; *what*, in '*whatever*'). It has preserved its primitive signification in *quel qu'il soit* (*whatever it may be*). It enters into the locution *tel quel* (*just as it is*), the relative pronoun *lequel*, and the interrogative pronoun *quel*, *lequel*. It is thus either an adjective or a substantive.

[1] *Plusiores* was preceded by the form *pluriores*, which became *plusiores* under the influence of *plus*. *Plusiores* gave, in Old French, *pluissors*, *pluisseurs*, which the men of letters of the 16th century changed into *plusieurs*.

[2] [Distinguish from the adverb *quant*.]

Quelque is formed from *quel* and *que*. This adjective may be converted into a substantive by combining it with *un*: *quelqu'un*. It also combines with the old adverb *onques* and forms the indeterminate adjective *quelconque*.

Tel comes from the Latin **talis**, the correlative of **qualis**, which gave **quel**. Besides indicating the manner of existing, *tel* expresses more especially an idea of identity: *tel que vous le voyez* (*such as you see him*). When preceded by *un*, it is used as an indeterminate substantive: *un tel* (*a certain person*).

Tout, from the Latin **totus**, is used not only as an adjective, but also as an adverb, and is then invariable.

Un is the cardinal noun, of which the primitive sense has weakened; it has thus become an indefinite adjective: *un homme, une femme*. It is used substantively when preceded by the article: *l'un*; in which case it is often opposed to *autre* (see above). It is combined with *chaque* in *chacun*, with *quelque* in *quelqu'un*, with *alque* in *aucun*.

143. QUALIFYING ADJECTIVES WHICH MAY BECOME INDEFINITE ADJECTIVES.—Certain adjectives, which are usually placed after substantives, and are then qualifying adjectives, when placed before substantives become indefinite: *Des personnes différentes, différentes personnes*; *des choses certaines, certaines choses*[1].

SECTION II.—*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Substantive.*

144. General remarks on case, gender, and number in Latin.

I. CASES.—**145.** Reduction of the Latin declension in Popular Latin.—**146.** Formation of the declension in Old French. Masculine substantives.—**147.** Declension of the feminine substantives.—**148.** Indeclinable substantives.—**149.** Loss of the Old French declension.—**150.** Remnants of the old declension.

II. GENDERS.—**151.** Loss of the Latin neuter in the Gallo-Roman period.—**152.** Latin neuters which have become masculine in French.—**153.** Latin neuters which have become feminine in French.—**154.** Changes in the gender of feminine substantives derived from

[1] [The English use of *different* and *certain* is almost exactly parallel.]

Latin neuters.—155. Reasons which determined the choice of genders in French words.—156. Changes in gender of common nouns.—157. Substantives with a double etymological origin.—158. Disturbing action of terminations.—159. Analogical action of suffixes.—160. Action of analogous words, or closely related terms.—161. Syntactic actions.—162. Reversion to the Latin gender.—163. Inexplicable change of gender in certain substantives.—164. The feminine of nouns denoting persons.—165. The feminine of nouns denoting animals.

III. NUMBERS.—166. Origin of the French plural.—167. Changes of form caused in Old French by the flexional *s*.—168. Formation of the plural from the singular.—169. Formation of the singular from the plural. Effect on the pronunciation of final consonants.—170. Remains of the early usage.—171. Plurals in *x*.—172. Plural of foreign nouns.—173. Plural of compound nouns.—174. Plural of invariable words taken substantively.

144. GENERAL REMARKS ON CASE, GENDER, AND NUMBER IN LATIN.—The various kinds of nouns that have just been considered are, or have been, subject in French to modifications of **case**, **gender**, and **number**.

Latin nouns were divided, according to their terminations, into classes, called **declensions**, the substantives into five, and the adjectives into two. In each declension the forms corresponding to a given case were different, in general, for different genders and numbers.

(1) *Cases.*—**Cases** were constituted in Latin by final inflexions; the form of the noun being thus modified in different ways according to its syntactic relations with the other terms of the sentence in which it was used.

Latin during the Classical period had six cases, the form of which varied, in general, with the declensions.

The **nominative** showed that the noun was the subject of the verb: **Paul-US venit**, *Paul comes.*

The **vocative** denoted the person addressed: **Paul-E**, veni, *Paul, come!*

The **genitive** in general expressed the possessor: liber **Paul-I**, *Paul's book.*

The **dative** expressed the indirect object: **do librum Paul-O**, (*I*) *give* (*a or the*) *book to Paul.*

The **accusative** denoted the direct object of verbs and the indirect object of certain prepositions: **video Paul-UM**, *I see Paul*; **eo ad Paul-UM**, *I go to Paul.*

The **ablative** expressed the starting-point of an action, and was the indirect *object* of certain prepositions: **amatur a Paul-O**, *he is loved by Paul.*

(2) *Gender.*—There were three genders in Latin: **masculine, feminine,** and **neuter**; and substantives were of one of these three genders. The gender of a word was in most cases determined by its form; it was owing to purely grammatical reasons that substantives were masculine, feminine, or neuter. Sometimes, with substantives denoting living beings, either persons or animals, the masculine or feminine gender corresponded to the idea of sex.

When adjectives were used with substantives they took their gender. If they were used absolutely they were either masculine or feminine when referring to persons or living things, but took the neuter gender when they denoted general ideas, such as *the true, the good, the useful.* In other words, the *logical* neuter was expressed in Latin by the *grammatical* neuter.

In substantives the gender was sometimes shown by the termination, especially in neuter substantives, which kept the same inflexion in the nominative, vocative, and accusative of both singular and plural numbers.

In some cases the gender of a substantive was shown only by the special inflexion which it necessitated in an adjective qualifying it.

(3) *Number.*—The Latin numbers were the **singular** and **plural.**

The substantives and adjectives had, in the different declensions and cases, special inflexions for the two numbers.

We give the paradigms of the five declensions of substantives. (We shall give in Section III, § 175, the paradigms of the two classes of adjectives.)

1st DECLENSION:

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	ros **ă** (*rose*)	ros **ae**
Voc.	ros **ă**	ros **ae**
Gen.	ros **ae**	ros **arum**
Dat.	ros **ae**	ros **is**
Acc.	ros **am**	ros **as**
Abl.	ros **ā**	ros **is**

2nd DECLENSION:

Parisyllabics.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	mur **us** (*wall*)	mur **i**
Voc.	mur **e**	mur **i**
Gen.	mur **i**	mur **orum**
Dat.	mur **o**	mur **is**
Acc.	mur **um**	mur **os**
Abl.	mur **o**	mur **is**

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	templ **um** (*temple*)	templ **a**
Voc.	templ **um**	templ **a**
Gen.	templ **i**	templ **orum**
Dat.	templ **o**	templ **is**
Acc.	templ **um**	templ **a**
Abl.	templ **o**	templ **is**

Imparisyllabics.

MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	puer (*boy*)	puer **i**, &c.
Voc.	puer	(like mur **i**)
Gen.	puer **i**	
Dat.	puer **o**	
Acc.	puer **um**	
Abl.	puer **o**	

3rd DECLENSION:

Parisyllabics.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	pan is (*bread*)	pan es
Voc.	pan is	pan es
Gen.	pan is	pan ium
Dat.	pan i	pan ibus
Acc.	pan em	pan es or pan is
Abl.	pan e	pan ibus

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	mar e (*sea*)	mar ia
Voc.	mar e	mar ia
Gen.	mar is	mar ium
Dat.	mar i	mar ibus
Acc.	mar e	mar ia
Abl.	mar i	mar ibus

Imparisyllabics.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	leo (*lion*)	leon es
Voc.	leo	(like pan es)
Gen.	leon is	
Dat.	leon i	
Acc.	leon em	
Abl.	leon e	

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	fulgur (*lightning*)	fulgur a
Voc.	fulgur	fulgur a
Gen.	fulgur is	fulgur um
Dat.	fulgur i	fulgur ibus
Acc.	fulgur	fulgur a
Abl.	fulgur e	fulgur ibus

4th DECLENSION:

MASCULINE AND FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	man **us** (*hand*)	man **us**
Voc.	man **us**	man **us**
Gen.	man **ūs**	man **uum**
Dat.	man **ui**	man **ibus**
Acc.	man **um**	man **us**
Abl.	man **u**	man **ibus**

NEUTER SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	corn **u** (*horn*)	corn **ua**
Voc.	corn **u**	corn **ua**
Gen.	corn **ūs**	corn **uum**
Dat.	corn **ui**	corn **ibus**
Acc.	corn **u**	corn **ua**
Abl.	corn **u**	corn **ibus**

5th DECLENSION:

FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom.	di **es** (*day*)	di **es**
Voc.	di **es**	di **es**
Gen.	di **ei**	di **erum**
Dat.	di **ei**	di **ebus**
Acc.	di **em**	di **es**
Abl.	di **e**	di **ebus**

In this table we must distinguish, in the 2nd and 3rd declensions, the **parisyllabics** from the **imparisyllabics**, i. e. those substantives which have the same number of syllables in the six cases of the singular (**murus, templum, panis, mare**) from the substantives which, in the singular, have one syllable less in the nominative and vocative (**puer, leo, fulgur**). This difference in the number of syllables produced in some cases differences

in the position of the *tempus forte*, and consequently of phonetic treatment in the passage from Latin into French.

Moreover, if we examine these paradigms closely we see how defective the system of Latin declensions was. The dative and ablative plural had the same form in all the declensions (1st and 2nd, **-is**, **-is**; 3rd and 4th, **-ibus**, **-ibus**; 5th, **-ebus**, **-ebus**). Sometimes, even in the 3rd declension, the singular of these two cases had the same termination (**mari**, **mari**). In other cases the forms of the genitive and dative singular were identical (1st, **-ae**, **-ae**; 5th, **-ei**, **-ei**). The nominative and vocative were identical throughout, except in the singular of the 2nd declension (**murus**, **mure**). Lastly, in neuter nouns there was nothing to distinguish, in either the singular or plural, the nominative from the vocative or the accusative (**templum**, **templa**; **fulgur**, **fulgura**; **mare**, **maria**; **cornu**, **cornua**). On the other hand, in several declensions, particularly in the 3rd, we find a great variety of forms, owing to the great variety of radicals included in them.

This system of declensions shows signs of being an already degraded stage of an earlier and more complete system. In the 3rd century B.C. the development of the literary language had arrested the progress of the system towards simplification, and gave it fixity for some centuries. But the revolution was only delayed, and when the literary language sank with the wreck of the empire the work of destruction was completed. The six cases were reduced first to two, and towards the end of the Middle Ages to one only. The neuter declension disappeared; and the inflexions of number alone were preserved. The simplification might have been yet more complete, for one can easily conceive of the language in a state having neither number nor gender.

It already occasionally happens in the *spoken* French of the present day that both gender and number are only

made evident by the determinants which accompany either the noun or verb. These grammatical distinctions are no longer expressed by distinctive inflections. Thus the **s** of the plural is no longer heard in pronunciation, except in cases of sound-connection (*liaison*), and it is the article alone which shows whether a noun is singular or plural: the nouns in *le père* and *les pères* are indistinguishable in pronunciation.

It is also the sense alone which distinguishes *il chante* from *ils chantent.* The phrase: *quelle jolie petite fille qui joue dans le jardin,* is identical in pronunciation with the phrase: *quelles jolies petites filles qui jouent dans le jardin.* The sound of the exclamation *enfant hardi* does not show us if the noun is (1) a masculine singular (as written above); (2) a feminine singular: *enfant hardie*; or (3) a masculine, or (4) a feminine plural: *enfants hardis* or *hardies.*

I. Cases.

145. Reduction of the Latin Declension in Popular Latin.—The six cases of Classical Latin merged in Popular Latin into a single case, the accusative, except in the 2nd declension, in which the nominative was preserved.

The genitive was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *de* with the accusative: *liber Pauli* became *liber de Paulu(m)*, and in French, *le livre de Paul* (*Paul's book*).

The dative was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *ad* with the accusative: *Do Paulo* became *do ad Paulu(m)*, and in French, *je donne à Paul* (*I give to Paul*).

The ablative was replaced by a periphrase formed of the preposition *de,* or some other preposition, with the accusative: *venire e campo* became *venire de illu(m) campu(m)*, and in French, *venir del champ, venir du champ* (*to come from the field*).

It was thus the accusative which became the case

governed by prepositions, keeping also its function as the case governed by the transitive verbs[1].

The nominative, and the vocative, which had already become identical with it in form, were in their turn absorbed by the accusative, except in the 2nd declension. In fact, in this general breaking-up of the system of the Latin declensions only a fragment remained, but a fragment sufficient to serve for the construction thereon of a new edifice in Gallo-Romanic; for the French declension, incomplete though it was, was an original construction, and not a weakened survival of the Latin system.

146. FORMATION OF THE DECLENSION IN OLD FRENCH. MASCULINE SUBSTANTIVES. — The fragment referred to above was the 2nd declension of *masculine* substantives in **-us** and **-er**. A nominative fulfilling the function of both subject case and vocative case, and the accusative serving as the object of verbs and of prepositions, were preserved, and formed a declension with two cases.

(i) Substantives in **-us**:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	**mu̯rus**	**mu̯ri**
Acc.	**mu̯rum**	**mu̯ros**

The continuation of this declension in Old French was:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*murs*	*mur*
Acc.	*mur*	*murs*

Thus two forms, the one without an **s**, and the other with an **s**, served to constitute the two cases in the singular and plural.

[1] The prepositions which in Classical Latin governed the ablative in Popular Latin governed the accusative. There are numerous examples of this in the earliest Low Latin texts.

(ii) Substantives in **-er**:

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	**lĭber**	**lĭbri**
Acc.	**lĭbrum**	**lĭbros**

This declension became in Old French (11th and 12th centuries):

	Singular	Plural
Nom.	*livre*	*livre*
Acc.	*livre*	*livres*

Thus in these substantives a form without an **s** served for the nominative and accusative singular and for the nominative plural; a form with an **s**, for the accusative plural.

This declension, with its two types, was the starting-point of the Gallo-Romanic declension. It was imposed on *all* masculine substantives, no matter from what source they came, whether they were Latin, of the 3rd, 4th, or 5th declensions—e.g. *pain*, from **panem**; *fruit*, from **fructum**; *di*, from **diem**: or whether they were of Romanic formation, such as *cri*, from *crier*; *apel*, from *apeler*: or whether they were of foreign origin, such as *beant*, *esperon* (*éperon*); or even if they were infinitives used substantively. All masculine substantives ending otherwise than with **e** mute followed the paradigm of **murs**; all those ending with an **e** mute followed the paradigm of **livre**: e.g. *père*, from **patrem**; *frère*, from **fratrem**.

In the declension on the type of **murs** the language started from the forms of the accusative singular and plural yielded by etymology, and created the cases for the subject by simply changing the accusative singular into the nominative plural, and the accusative plural into the nominative singular. The nominatives plural of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th Latin declensions ended in **s**: **panes, fructus, dies.** This **s** was thus dropped in the earliest period of the language, and the corresponding French nominatives plural were *pain, fruit, di,* like the accusatives singular:

pain (from **pạnem**), *fruit* (from **frụctum**), *di* (from **dịem**). A great number of imparisyllabic substantives, particularly in the 3rd declension, had one syllable less in the nominative singular than in the oblique cases: **lẹo, leọnem**; **cạrbo, carbọnem**; **sẹrpens, serpẹntem**. Had the nominatives singular in French been derived phonetically from the Latin forms they would have been: *lié, charp, serps*. But the forms found, derived from the accusative plural, are: *leons, charbons, serpenz* (= *serpents*).

In the declension on the type of **livre** the nominatives plural of the 3rd declension, such as **patres**, became in the same manner, contrary to etymological rule: *pedre, père*—on the model of the accusative singular: *pedre, père* (= **pạtrem**). As for the nominative singular, it followed the paradigm of **liber** and had no **s**.

Such, then, was the primitive declension of masculine substantives in French. It consisted of two types: (1) **murs, mur**; **mur, murs**; and (2) **livre, livre**; **livre, livres**.

In the second third of the 12th century the distinction between the type **livre** and the type **mur-s** was lost, and for the nominative singular the forms **livre-s, pere-s**, were used, exactly on the model of **mur-s**. Thenceforward only a single declension of masculine substantives remained; and (with a few exceptions, noted immediately below) all masculine substantives of whatever origin, and to whatever Latin declension they had belonged, were included under the type of **murs**.

The important exceptions we refer to occurred from the earliest period of the language; they concern a restricted number of imparisyllabic substantives denoting persons only, which were chiefly used in the vocative, a case, as we know, identical in form with the nominative. This use of the vocative, and particularly of the vocative singular, preserved the nominative singular, lost by other substantives. The other cases of these words followed the general rule, i. e. the form of the accusative singular

was used for the nominative plural, and, with the addition of an **s**, for the accusative plural. Thus we find:

Nom. sing. **cǫ̆mes**, *cuens, cons,* co-existing with the accusative **cǫmitem**, *comte,* whence the plural *comte, comtes.*

Nom. sing. **hǫ̆mo**, *on,* co-existing with the accusative **hǫminem**, *ome* (*homme*), whence the plural *ome, omes* (*hommes*).

Nom. sing. **prẹsbyter**, *prestre,* co-existing with the accusative **presbyterum**, *presveire, proveire, prouvaire,* whence the plural *prouvaire, prouvaires.*

Nom. sing. **lạtro**, *ledre, lerre,* co-existing with the accusative **latrǫnem**, *ladron, larron,* whence the plural *larron, larrons.*

Nom. sing. **bạro**, *ber,* co-existing with the accusative **barǫnem**, *baron,* whence the plural *baron, barons.*

Nom. sing. **sẹnior**, *sire,* co-existing with the accusative **seniǫrem**, *seigneur,* whence the plural *seigneur, seigneurs.*

Nom. sing. **imperạtor**, *emperedre, emperere,* co-existing with the accusative **imperatǫrem**, *emperedor, empereor, empereeur, empereur,* whence the plural *emperedor, emperor, emperedors, empereors, empereeurs, empereurs.*

Similar forms existed in the case of all names of agents.

Nom. Sing.	Acc. Sing.	Nom. Plur.	Acc. Plur.
buvère	*buveor*	*buveor*	*buveors*
faisière	*faiseor*	*faiseor*	*faiseors*
mentère	*menteor*	*menteor*	*menteors*
trouvère	*trouveor*	*trouveor*	*trouveors*
vantère	*vanteor*	*vanteor*	*vanteors*, &c.[1]

To these substantives must be added a feminine substantive, with a nominative singular **suer**, **sœur**, from **sǫror**, co-existing with the accusative singular **sereur** from **sorǫrem**, whence the nom. and acc. plural *sereur, sereurs.*

Among these substantives, those which had no etymo-

[1] In Modern French *buveur, faiseur, menteur, trouvère, vantard,* &c.

logical **s** in the nominative singular received one in the last third of the 12th century; thenceforward the forms used were *(h)ons*, *prestre-s*, *lerre-s*, *ber-s*, *sire-s*, *emperere-s*, exactly similar to the earlier *livre-s*, *pere-s*, modelled on **mur-s**. However, here the **s** appeared less necessary than for the substantives of the type of **livre**, because the nominative singular was rendered sufficiently distinct from other cases by the special form it assumed[1].

Such were in Old French the exceptions to the rule with regard to the declension of masculine substantives. Had it not been for the special use of the vocative which characterized these imparisyllabics, still obvious at the present day, as we shall see, in several of these words (§ 150), the declension on the type of **murs** would have extended to all masculine nouns of either Latin or Gallo-Romanic origin, irrespectively of the declension to which they had originally belonged.

147. Declension of the feminine substantives.—The declension of feminine substantives was more simple than that of masculine substantives. Whether they came from the first declension, e.g. *rose* from **rosa**; or from the third, e.g. *medre*, *mère*, from **matrem**, *mort* from **mortem**; or from the fourth, e.g. *main* from **manum**; or, finally, from the fifth, e.g. *feit*, *fei*, *foi*, from **fidem**, they were only inflected with regard to number, because they existed only in the form of the accusative. In Popular Latin the nominatives singular corresponding to the Classical Latin **rosa**, **mater**, were already **rosam** and **matrem**, and the nominatives plural, **rosas** and **matres**[2]. Hence the French feminine

[1] The addition of the *s* to the substantives in question was not made at the same time in all instances, and seems only to have become universal in the 13th century.

[2] We have just pointed out the exception *sœur*. We may quote together with this word a whole series of women's names which are also exceptional and possess two forms, the nominative and the

declension, which has been preserved down to the present day:

Nom. Sing.	*rose, mère*	Plur.	*roses, mères*
Acc. ,,	*rose, mère*	,,	*roses, mères*

However, in the 12th century, those feminine substantives which did not end with an **e** mute took an **s** in the nominative singular. Thus the substantive *bontet* was declined in the singular *bontez* (pronounced *bontets*), *bontet*; in the plural, only the accusative form *bontez* was known. Similarly *amor* was declined in the singular *amors*, *amor*, but had only a single form for the nominative and accusative plural, *amors*.

148. INDECLINABLE SUBSTANTIVES. — The following classes of words had no declension in Old French, having no inflection either of case or number:

1. Substantives derived from Latin substantives, masculine, feminine, or neuter, of which the radical ended either (i) with an **s**: **curS-us**, *cours*, **urS-us**, *ours*; or (ii) with a **c**, which before the **e** of the accusative became phonetically **-is** (§ 74, 3): **paC-em**, *pais* (paix), **voC-em**, *vois* (voix), **nuC-em**, *nois* (noix); or (iii) with one of the groups **cy** and **ty**, which, placed in hiatus before the termination **-um**, developed, the former into **ts**, and the latter into **-is** (at first *-iz*) (§§ 77 and 78): **braCI-um**, *braz* (*bras*), **solaCI-um**, *solaz* (*soulas*), **pala-TI-um**, *palais*, **preTI-um**, *prieies*, *pris* (*prix*).

2. Substantives derived from Latin neuter substantives terminating in **s**: **corpuS**, **cors** (*corps*), **funduS** (gen. **funderis**), *fonds*, **latuS**, *lez*, **tempuS**, *tems* (*temps*).

149. LOSS OF THE OLD FRENCH DECLENSION.—Such were

accusative: *nonne—nonain* (now *nonnain*), *Aude—Audain*, *Eve—Evain*, *Yde—Ydain*: the accusatives *nonain*, *Audain*, &c., are traceable to Germanic accusatives in *-ân*. As in *suer*, *seror*, the nominative form has alone survived.

the three classes comprised in the Old French declension of substantives. The system was really only applied to masculine substantives, which shows how imperfect it was. But, with all its incompleteness, it was an independent development of the Latin system.

Having attained its full growth in the second half of the 12th century, this new system began to undergo change at the end of the following century, and disappeared entirely at the end of the 14th century. Of the two cases, the nominative and accusative, the nominative was definitively ousted from the language, because the relations expressed by this case occurred much less frequently than those expressed by the accusative.

At the present time the substantive has only one form, that of the accusative, which the language uses indiscriminately to represent the subject as well as the object governed by a verb or a preposition.

The expression of the numerous relations for which the Latin inflection sufficed is now accomplished by means of the use of a determinate order of the words employed, and of prepositions.

150. Remnants of the old declension.—Nevertheless, in spite of the general loss of the declension the nominatives of certain substantives have been preserved, in some cases exclusively, in others together with the corresponding accusatives:

1. Substantives of which the nominative form only has been preserved:

fils (from **filius**), together with *fil* (pron. *fi*, from **filium**), preserved in the speech of country folk.

sœur (from **soror**); *sereur* (from **sororem**) was lost towards the end of the Middle Ages.

prêtre (from **presbyter**); this at one time co-existed with *prouvaire*, earlier *proveire*, *provoire* (from **presbyterum**), which is no longer in general use.

pâtre (from **pạstor**); *pâteur* (from **pastọrem**) has been lost. *Pasteur* is a learned form.

vierge (from **vịrgo**); *virgne* (from **vịrginem**) has been lost.

chantre (from **cạntor**); *chanteur* (from **cantọrem**) has been lost. The modern word *chanteur*, O. F. *chanteeur*, *chanteor*, is the Latin **cantatọrem**; its nominative case was *chantère*.

ancêtre (from **antecẹssor**) and **traịtre** (from **trạditor**) must also be mentioned.

2. Substantives of which both the nominative form and accusative form have been preserved:

sire (from **sẹnior**) and **seigneur** (from **seniọrem**).

gars (from ***wạrcio**) and **garçon** (from **warciọnem**).

copain (from **compạnio**) and **compagnon** (from **companiọnem**).

We must also notice the forms of certain proper nouns, **Georges**, **Gilles**, **Jacques**, **Jules**, &c., in which the presence of the final **s** indicates a former nominative.

In all these substantives it is really the form of the vocative, identical with that of the nominative, which has been preserved (see p. 219, § 146); the function of the vocative is still obvious in **sire**.

Thus only substantives denoting persons were able to keep this nominative form. Traces of the **s** of the nominative have been supposed to exist in certain names of things, such as *puits*, *rets*, *legs*, *fonds*, *lis*, *appas*, &c. But this is a mistake.

Puits, O. F. *puiz*, is the Popular Latin **pụteu**, **pụtiu**, the accusative of **puteus**. The **-iz** of *puiz*, later **-is**, represents the combination **ti** (§ 77); the **t** in *puits* is due to the scholars of the Renaissance who unfortunately wished to reintroduce the Latin **t** before the **s** by which the **z** had been replaced.

Rets (Pop. Lat. **rẹtium**) has a history similar to that of *puits*.

Legs (= *legacy*) is a mis-spelling for *les*, *lais*, the verbal substantive from *laisser*, erroneously connected with **léguer**. [Cf. the *g* in the English *sovereign*, from the French *souverain*, erroneously connected with *reign*.]

Fonds is the Latin neuter **fundus**, gen. **funderis**, whilst *fond* is the masculine **fundum**.

Lis and *appas* are the original plurals of the singulars *lil* and *appât*, the latter being still in use (see § 167, iii)[1]. The form *lis* (formerly *liz*) with the **s** comes from the expression *fleurs de lis*, where the plural indicates the *three fleurs de lis* which figured on the royal armorial bearings.

To sum up, the nominative has given way everywhere before the accusative, except in certain nouns denoting persons, where the use of the vocative during the Middle Ages has preserved the subject-case down to the present day. Of these nouns only one has kept, not alone the form, but also the syntactic use of the subject-case exclusively. This is the indefinite noun *on*, *l'on*, a nominative corresponding to the Latin nominative **homo**, the accusative of which is *homme*. *On* and *l'on* can only be used as the subjects of a verb.

II. Genders.

151. Loss of the Latin neuter in the Gallo-Roman period.—Latin had, as we have seen (§ 144), three genders, the masculine, feminine, and neuter. The masculine and feminine were preserved; the neuter was lost during the Gallo-Roman period, and was replaced by either the masculine or feminine.

[1] [*Appas*, the plural of *appât*, is similar to *gens* and *tous*, from *gent* and *tout*. The singular, *appât*, and the plural, *appas*, are used in the sense of *bait*. Through the idea of attractiveness, the plural has become an independent word equivalent to the English *charms*, in speaking of a woman.]

152. LATIN NEUTERS WHICH HAVE BECOME MASCULINE IN FRENCH.—Latin neuters mostly became masculine in French.

		O. F.	Mod. F.
2nd decl.	**cạelum**	*li ciels*	*le ciel*
	dọnum	*li dons*	*le don*
	grạnum	*li grains*	*le grain*
	fọlium	*li feuil*	(*chèvre*)-*feuil* (obsolete except in this compound)
	vịnum	*li vins*	*le vin*
3rd decl.	**cọrpus**	*li cors*	*le cor*(*p*)*s*
	pẹctus	*li piz*	*le pis*
	tẹmpus	*li tens*	*le tem*(*p*)*s*
	lạtus	*li lez*	(Plessis) *lès* (Tours)[1]
4th decl.	**cọrnu**	*li corn*	*le cor*

(On the final **s** of *cors, piz, tems, lez,* see § 148, 2.)

153. LATIN NEUTERS WHICH HAVE BECOME FEMININE IN FRENCH.—1. The neuter singular has become a feminine singular in two words only: **mạre,** *la mer,* **jumẹntum,** *la jument.*

2. The neuter plural has become a feminine singular in many words. The termination of the neuter substantives being invariably **-a** in the nominative, vocative, and accusative plural, it was confused with the termination **-a** of the feminines singular of the first declension. Thus we find:

2nd decl.	**lạbrum**	pl. **lạbra**	*la lèvre*
	fẹstum	**fẹsta**	*la fête*
	fọlium	**fọlia**	*la feuille*
	pịrum	**pịra**	*la poire*
	grạnum	**grạna**	*la graine*
	gạudium	**gạudia**	*la joie*
	fịlum	**fịla**	*la file*

[1] = Plessis by the side of (i. e. near) Tours.

3rd decl.	**fulgur**	**fulgura**	*la foudre*
	insigne	**insignia**	*l(a)' enseigne*
	mirabile	**mirabilia**	*la merveille*
4th decl.	**cornu**	**cornua**	*la corne*

As may have been observed by the words *grain, graine, feuil, feuille, fil, file, cor, corne,* the same Latin neuter has sometimes given rise to French *doublets,* the language having taken a masculine singular from the neuter singular, and a feminine singular from the neuter plural of the same word; and both of the doublets are capable of taking a plural form: des *grains,* des *graines*; des *fils,* des *files.*

This change of a plural into a singular, and of a neuter into a feminine, did not take place suddenly.

With regard to the sense we must notice that the value of the plural was long kept in the *collective* signification which first belonged to these feminines: thus *la feuille* had the meaning of the modern *feuillage* (*foliage*) before denoting each leaf in particular. The collective sense is still discernible in *graine,* and in the substantives in *-aille,* which are derived from Latin neuter plurals in **-alia**: *broussaille* (*brush-wood*), *ferraille* (*old iron*), *limaille* (*filings*), &c. (See Book III, § 316, 14.)

With regard to the form, we find in Old French certain substantives which form their plural by the addition, not of an **s**, but of an **e**: *char, charre*[1]; *doit, doie*[2]; *sestier* (a certain measure), *sestière*[3]. These plurals represent the corresponding Latin neuter plurals. Had the neuter **granum**, Fr. *grain* (plural **grana**), passed into French, not as a feminine singular, but with its Latin

[1] Cinquante charre (Mod. F. *chars*) (Roland, l. 131).

[2] Ot chascuns deus doie de lart (Mod. F. *Chacun eut deux doigts de lard*) (Raoul de Houdenc, *Les Trouvères belges*, nouv. série, published by Scheler, p. 190).

[3] Dous sestiere de blef (Mod. F. *Deux sestiers de blé*) (Lettre de Joinville, *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, iv. 6, 369).

plural signification, the French forms would have been *grain* in the singular and *graine* in the plural. This is what has happened in Italian[1], in which a great number of masculine substantives form their plural by changing the **o** of the singular into **a**: *il labbro* (*la lèvre, the lip*), *le labbra* (*les lèvres, the lips*). This formation of the plural, which would have been characterized by the addition of an **e** to the form of the singular, was not developed in French. The few plurals of this kind in the old language have been lost, and in the modern language a single and scarcely recognizable relic is to be found in the numeral adjective *mille*, of which the form *mil* represents the Latin singular **mille**, and the form *mille* the Latin plural **millia**. In Old French, as we have seen, the singular *un mil* was distinguished from the plural *deux mille* (§ 136, iv).

154. CHANGES IN THE GENDER OF FEMININE SUBSTANTIVES DERIVED FROM LATIN NEUTERS.—In Middle French a certain number of the feminine substantives derived from Latin neuter plurals underwent, in the hands of literary men, changes of gender which have been of a more or less lasting character[2]. These writers, having some, though very incomplete, notions of etymology, wished to restore such feminine substantives to their Latin genders, and, having no longer a neuter at their disposal, gave them the masculine gender.

Espace, feminine in Old French, from the neuter plural **spatia**, again became masculine because of the singular **spatium**. The feminine is only preserved in the language of printers; *une espace* means a 'space,' a small

[1] And also in Roumansch and Roumanian.

[2] Notice that in Old French even words borrowed by the Learned formation from the Latin neuters were made neuter, as if the derivation of the feminines of the popular language from Latin plural neuters was consciously recognized. Thus we have the feminine *miracle* from the neut. plur. **miracula**.

piece of metal which separates one word, or line, from another.

Étude, feminine from the plural **studia**[1], became partly masculine in the 16th century. Malherbe, in the 17th century, distinguishes the feminine from the masculine by attributing to each gender a special sense, *étude* as a feminine meaning a place in which one studies, and *étude* as a masculine, the action of studying. This distinction and the masculine gender of *étude* disappeared together.

Évangile, feminine until the 16th century, from the plural **evangelia**, again became masculine from the singular **evangelium**.

Exemple, feminine until the end of the 16th century, from the plural **exempla**, became masculine from the singular **exemplum**. The feminine was preserved in the sense of 'a copy' in caligraphy until the beginning of the present century. The word is now masculine in all its senses.

Foudre, feminine from the plural **fulgura**[2], was made masculine in the 16th century from the singular **fulgur**. Both genders were used concurrently in a literal and figurative sense until well into the 18th century. But the masculine of learned formation was only used in stately language. 'Anastase mourut frappé *du foudre*' (Bossuet, *Histoire universelle*, i, 11). '*Un foudre* qu'il (Jupiter) n'envoie qu'après avoir délibéré avec quelques dieux et qui intimide les méchants' (Diderot, *Opinion des anciens philosophes*). The new gender has not yet entered deeply enough into the language to displace the original and truly popular gender. At the present day *foudre* is feminine when used literally; when used figuratively it may

[1] The word *étude*, as a feminine substantive, was a word already formed on the Latin model; the truly popular form was *estuie*. *Estuie* became *estuide*, and then *estude*.

[2] The old etymological form was *fuildre* [*Roland*, l. 1426] = *fulgura*; then in the 13th century the *l* became *u*, and the group *uin* being too harsh, the word became *foudre*.

also be masculine, especially when it designates a man: *un foudre de guerre* (*a mighty warrior*); or the *bolt of Jupiter*: *l'aigle de Jupiter avec son foudre.*

Idole, feminine, from the Latin plural **idōla**[1] (Greek, εἴδωλα), was sometimes masculine in the 16th and 17th centuries, from the singular **idoleum**: *Jamais idole, quel qu'il fût* (La Fontaine, *Fab.* iv, 8).

Œuvre, feminine, from the plural **opera**. The scholars of the 16th century endeavoured to make it masculine, an attempt which has left traces in certain technical expressions only: in law, *le nouvel œuvre*[2]; in alchemy, *le grand œuvre* (the *magnum opus*); in art, *l'œuvre d'un graveur, d'un musicien.*

Office was first feminine from the plural **officia**, then masculine from the singular **officium**. In Middle French both were used indiscriminately. In the modern language a special use has been given to each gender (masc. *duty*, &c.; fem. *pantry*, &c.).

Orge, originally feminine, from the plural **hordea**, became masculine in Middle French from the singular **hordeum**. The masculine has been preserved without any good reason in the expressions *orge mondé* (*hulled barley*), *orge perlé* (*pearl barley*), *orge carré* (a variety of barley).

Orgue, feminine in Old French, from the plural **organa**[3]. The scholars of the 16th century school made it masculine. The word was used chiefly in the plural because it denotes a collection of pipes; and the new gender insisted on by the grammarians was unable to displace the feminine in the plural, in which it had become strongly established by custom; but in the singular the masculine prevailed. If we were to follow the true laws of language we should

[1] The popular form was *idle*, a feminine substantive (*Tutes ses idles*, *Roland*, l. 2619); the form *idole* is itself due to a learned re-formation of the word.

[2] [*Dénonciation de nouvel œuvre* = a summons to appear for infringement of pre-existing rights in the construction of a new building.]

[3] *Orgue* is itself a word of a semi-learned formation, but is very old.

discard the gender of the grammarians and return to former usage. The feminine gender alone is legitimate; the masculine is an intrusion.

Délice. To this list must be added the word *délice*, which grammarians make masculine in the singular, and feminine in the plural. The fact is that we have here two different words. The masculine singular *délice* is the neuter Latin **delicium**, which was used only in the singular and passed into French by the learned formation. The feminine plural *délices* is the Latin feminine plural **deliciae**, which was used only in the plural, and which also passed into French by the learned formation.

155. Reasons which determined the choice of genders in French words.—The neuter being lost, the language only possessed a masculine and a feminine. This distinction of genders does not correspond to any logical idea. In Romance languages generally the genders are, as a rule, only used as compartments into which the language distributes the mass of its substantives, under the more or less obscure guidance of outward analogies, terminations, suffixes, and sometimes of conflicting reasons. In a small number of cases of nouns denoting *persons*, or *animals*, the gender is determined by the idea of sex, even occasionally when the choice is contrary to etymology.

Keeping to French, we may state the following facts:

Common nouns.—The gender of common nouns denoting *persons* was in general determined in Latin by the sex, and consequently this rule has been followed in French.

Common nouns denoting *animals* or *things*, when of popular formation, kept their etymological gender; Latin masculine nouns remained masculine: **canem**, *le chien*; **campum**, *le champ*; **murum**, *le mur*; Latin feminine nouns remained feminine: **rosam**, *la rose*; **mortem**, *la mort*; **tabulam**, *la table*.

New words of French formation, whether derivatives or compounds, take the gender indicated by their derivation or composition:

lavage (masc.) (Book III, § 316, 3). *ancienneté* (fem.) (§ 316, 30).

entr'acte (masc.) *contre-épreuve* (fem.)

Words of learned formation or foreign origin take either the gender of the original word, or the gender corresponding to their termination, considered as a suffix.

Proper nouns.—In proper nouns denoting persons the gender is determined by the sex: *le Tasse* (*Tasso*), *la Malibran* (*Mme Malibran*).

In names of objects personified the gender is determined by the grammatical gender of the corresponding common nouns: *la Fortune, l'Amour.*

With regard to *geographical* nouns it is impossible to give any rules. The gender has been determined, either by the influence of the termination, or by etymology, and it is impossible to understand the apparently conflicting reasons which have caused one consideration or the other to prevail. Generally speaking, the noun is feminine if it ends with an e mute: *la Prusse, l'Angleterre, la France, les Vosges, les Alpes, les Corbières, la Seine,* &c. Nevertheless we find *le Mexique, le Rhône, le Danube.* Inversely, we have in the masculine *l'Oural, le Japon,* and in the feminine *la Néva, la Reuss,* &c. *Le Péloponnèse,* which is feminine in Greek, is masculine in French, in spite of its feminine termination. *Versailles* and *Londres* are masculine; *Jérusalem* and *Ilion* are feminine. Etymology throws no light on the subject, and the gender of geographical nouns seems to be arbitrary.

156. Changes in gender of common nouns.—Before we consider the special changes by means of which the language derives feminine substantives from the corresponding masculine substantives, we must examine certain

disturbing causes which have led to modifications of the general rules given above. These causes may be classed as follows:

Action of a double etymological form;
Disturbing action of the termination;
Analogical action of suffixes;
Influence of analogous or closely related words;
Syntactic actions;
Reversion to the Latin gender.

Finally we must form a special class for certain substantives in which the change of gender is unexplained.

157. SUBSTANTIVES WITH A DOUBLE ETYMOLOGICAL ORIGIN.—Before we examine changes of gender properly so called, we must quote a certain number of substantives which seem to show, or to have shown, changes of gender, the two genders being, however, derived either from two different etymological forms, the one masculine, the other feminine, or else from the same noun, which was both masculine and feminine in Latin.

Thus we have:

Serpent (now masc.), from the Lat. **serpentem**, both masculine and feminine in Latin and in Old French; it is still feminine in certain dialects.

Fin (now fem.), from the Lat. **finem**, of both genders in Old French as well as in Latin.

Carême (now fem.), of both genders in Old French; the feminine comes from the feminine **quadragesimam**, the masculine from the masculine **quadragesimum**.

Fourmi (now fem.) until the 16th century had the two forms: *un fourmi*, from the Latin **formicum**, and *une fourmie*, from the Latin **formica**. By a barbarous confusion the two words have been amalgamated; the masculine form *fourmi* has been adopted, but has received the feminine gender of *fourmie*.

Dot (now fem.), feminine from the Latin **dotem**, and

also masculine until the 17th century, from the Low Latin **dotum.**

Platine[1] (the metal *platinum*) (now masc.) was either feminine or masculine in the 18th century: feminine, from the Spanish *platina*; masculine, from the Spanish *platino.* The masculine has prevailed.

We must particularly notice certain **verbal substantives** belonging to this category, i. e. substantives formed from a verb by *improper derivation* (Book III, §§ 304 and 308, v). They may be either masculine or feminine, and are sometimes of both genders:

Aide (now fem.), both masculine and feminine until the 16th century, has been feminine ever since.

Aise (now fem.), both masculine and feminine until the 17th century: *à son bel aise* (La Fontaine, *Contes, Mazet,* l. 155). The compound *malaise* has preserved the masculine gender.

Doute (now masc.), feminine in Old French, both masculine and feminine in Middle French and until the middle of the 17th century. Vaugelas only allows the masculine.

Rencontre (now masc.) and **reproche** (now masc.), of both genders in Middle French and until the middle of the 17th century. Vaugelas still allows in the plural *à belles reproches, de sanglantes reproches.*

Triomphe, from *triompher* (both masc. and fem.), of both genders in its literal sense in Middle French, is still feminine as a term in card-playing[2].

Échange (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries.

158. Disturbing action of terminations.—We now come to the real causes of change in gender.

[1] [To be distinguished from the fem. subst. *platine, a platen or plate,* used in various technical senses.]

[2] [*Triomphe* (fem.) = (1) in certain card-games the English trump (a corruption of *triumph*); and (2) is the name of a game of cards resembling *écarté.*]

These changes were in some cases determined by the nature of the termination.

(i) As many feminine French nouns end with an **e** mute corresponding to the Latin final **a** of the first feminine declension, and as French adjectives form their feminine by the addition of an **e** mute to the masculine, words originally masculine, but ending with an **e** mute, have been regarded as feminine. This has happened especially with words of this kind commencing with a vowel or an **h** mute; the final vowel of a preceding article, being in this case elided, could not serve to distinguish the gender[1]. In many cases the feminine has been altogether lost.

Abîme (now masc.), both masculine and feminine in the 16th century.

Âge (now masc.), both masculine and feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries: *cette âge ferrée* (Malherbe, *Les larmes de St. Pierre*, l. 14).

Amulette (now fem.), masculine, according to the Academy, from the year 1762 to 1835, was accepted as feminine in 1878. D'Aubigné [1550–1630] and Chateaubriand [1768–1848] made it feminine.

Anagramme (now fem.), masculine in the 16th century (γράμμα is neuter in Greek), has been feminine ever since.

Apostume[2], both masculine and feminine in the 16th century, is still of both genders. Present usage makes it a feminine word, but the Academy persists in declaring it masculine.

Armistice (now masc.) is feminine in the Dictionary of the Academy of 1762.

Automne, usually feminine in the 17th century, is still of uncertain gender.

[1] [Thus *le + abîme* and *la + abîme* both contract in pronunciation to *labîm'*; *un + abîme* is also, by many French people, though possibly not by the majority, pronounced in the same way as *une + abîme*, i. e. *ün'abîm'*.]

[2] [= English *apostem*, a deep-seated abscess.]

Ébène (now fem.) was still of both genders in the 18th century.

Effluve (now either masc. or fem.) is often now feminine.

Énigme (now fem.), masculine in the 16th century (neuter in the Greek αἴνιγμα), was still masculine in Massillon [1663–1742], but has been feminine ever since.

Épacte (now fem.), masculine (as in the Greek ἔπακτος) in the 16th century, has been feminine since.

Épigramme (now fem.), (neuter in the Greek ἐπίγραμμα), masculine in the 16th century, is still masculine in Corneille.

Épisode (neuter in the Greek ἐπεισόδιον), feminine in the 16th century, of both genders in the 17th century, has been masculine since.

Épitaphe (neuter in the Greek ἐπιτάφιον, Low Lat. **epitaphium**), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th, and has been feminine since.

Épithète (neuter in the Greek ἐπίθετον), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th century; has been feminine since.

Équivoque (neuter in the Latin **aequivocum**), masculine in the 16th century, was of both genders in the 17th century; has been feminine since.

Érésipèle (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century.

Euphorbe is masculine according to the Dictionary of the Academy, and feminine according to botanists.

Horoscope (neuter in the Greek ὡροσκοπεῖον, Lat. **horoscopium**), of both genders till the 18th century, is now masculine.

Hymne (of both genders), masculine in the Latin **hymnus**, was both masculine and feminine in the 16th century; has remained feminine as an ecclesiastical term, but in its general use is masculine.

Intervalle (now masc.), feminine in Middle French; its gender was still doubtful in the 17th century; it has been masculine since.

Intrigue (now fem.), mostly used in the masculine in the 16th century, from the Italian masculine *intrigo*, was of both genders in the 17th century; has been feminine since.

Ivoire (now masc.) became feminine in the 17th century.

Offre (now fem.) was masculine in Old French; both masculine and feminine in the 16th and 17th centuries; has been feminine since the 18th century.

Opale is feminine, notwithstanding the Latin masculine **opalus**.

Opuscule (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Orage (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century: *cette diablesse d'orage* (Sév., *Lettre à Madame de Guitaut*, July 24, 1694).

Ordre (now masc.), feminine until the 16th century (notwithstanding its derivation from the Latin masculine **ordinem**), was made masculine from the 17th century onwards by a reversion to the Latin gender; but in the sense of a sacrament of the Church it continued to be feminine at that period: *les saintes ordres.*

Organe, masculine according to its etymology (from the Latin neuter **orgănum**), is often used as a feminine.

Orthographe (now fem.), sometimes masculine in the 16th century, has been feminine since.

Ovale (now masc.), feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries, has been masculine since.

Ulcère (now masc.), both masculine and feminine in the 17th century.

Ustensile (now masc.), both masculine and feminine in the 17th century.

We must observe that the common people now make all substantives beginning with a vowel feminine, whether they end with an **e** mute or not; they say: *de la bonne ouvrage, de la belle argent, l'air est fraîche*, &c.

The action of the termination has often been strong

enough to change the gender of a substantive, even when it began with a consonant:

Cigare (now masc.), from the Spanish masculine *cigarro*, is feminine in Chateaubriand [1768–1848], and is so still in the South of France.

Cimeterre[1] (now masc.) was feminine in Ronsard.

Comète (now fem.), at first feminine, like the Latin **cometa**, was masculine in the 16th century, of a doubtful gender in the 17th century, and has been feminine since.

Crabe (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Limite (now fem.), masculine (like the Latin **limitem**) till the 17th century, still so in Corneille (*Imitation*, iii, 10), has been feminine since.

Malachite, though masculine in Greek, is feminine in French, like **chrysolite**, **pyrite**, and analogous terms.

Mânes (now masc.), feminine in the 16th century and sometimes in the 17th, notwithstanding the Latin masculine **manes**.

Pagne[2] is often feminine, although derived from the Spanish masculine *paño*.

Pastille is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pastillus**.

Patenôtre (now fem.) has been feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pater noster**, since the 13th century.

Pétoncle[3], feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **pectunculus**.

Pieuvre is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **polypus**.

Renoncule is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **ranunculus**.

Rhume (now masc.) was of both genders till the 16th century.

[1] *Scimitar*, from the Ital. feminine *scimitarra*.
[2] [*Loin-cloth.*] [3] [*Cockle-shell.*]

Rime is feminine, although derived from the Latin masculine **rhythmus**.

Risque (now masc.) became feminine in the 16th century, and the Dictionary of the Academy in 1762 still preserved the expression *à toute risque.*

Salve (now fem.) was still masculine in the 16th century, from the Latin imperative **salve**; has been feminine since.

Squelette (now masc.) was sometimes feminine in the 17th century.

Steppe (now fem.) was masculine at the beginning of the 19th century, but is now feminine, in agreement with its Russian derivation.

The gender of compound nouns, which from their formation should have been masculine, has been affected by their termination.

Affaire (= *ce qui est à faire*) (now fem.) was masculine till the 16th century, was still of that gender in the 17th century in certain special phrases, such as: *pour les exprès affaires du roi,* and is so at the present day in the patois of the south of France.

Alarme (= *à l'arme*) (now fem.), a word of the 15th century, was first masculine, and of doubtful gender in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Contre-approches[1] has become feminine.

Contre-latte[2] has become feminine.

Entraves has become feminine.

Entrecôte, still masculine according to the Academy, has become feminine in the ordinary language.

Soucoupe has become feminine.

Boute-roue, **chasse-rage**, **garde-robe**, and other compounds of the same kind formed with the imperative, were affected by their termination and have become feminine.

Après-dînée, **après-soupée**, etymologically masculine,

[1] [= Eng. *counter-approach*, a military term.]
[2] [= Eng. *counter-lath.*]

have become feminine, and have caused *après-dîner*, *après-souper*, *après-midi*, to become feminine by analogy.

(ii) Conversely, a masculine termination has in some cases rendered masculine words that were originally feminine.

Names of plants ending in **a**, a feminine termination in Latin, are masculine in French: **acacia**, **camélia**, **hortensia**, **réséda**, &c.

Similarly, **rémora**, **choléra**, **mica**, **ténia**, **tibia**, **opéra**, **phylloxera**, are masculine (*le phylloxera vastatrix* is said, although the Latin adjective is in the feminine).

Écho (feminine in Latin), **épitomé** (feminine in Latin), **raifort** (in Old French, *raïs fort*[1], Lat. **radix fortis**, fem.), are now masculine.

The names of trees, which were all feminine in Latin, have all (with two exceptions, **vigne** and **yeuse**) become masculine in French in the same way, because the termination was masculine.

159. Analogical action of suffixes.—The gender of a certain number of substantives derived from their etymology has been changed, because their termination resembled a suffix of the other gender.

The Latin **cartilago**, feminine, has become in French **cartilage**, masculine, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-age** (Book III, § 159).

Appendix, feminine in Latin, has become **appendice**, masculine, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-ice**, occurring in *office*, *service* (Book III, § 159).

Artem, feminine in Latin, became *art*, feminine in Old French, but masculine since Middle French, under the influence of the masculine suffix **-art**, **-ard** (Book III, § 317).

Pleur, now a masculine substantive, was feminine in the

[1] [*fort* is here feminine, cf. § 177.]

works of Régnier, d'Urfé, Malherbe, Rotrou, under the influence of the feminine suffix **-eur**.

This last suffix itself, derived from the Latin masculine suffix **-ǫrem**, yielded feminine nouns in French for a similar reason.

Abstract Latin nouns in **-ǫrem** were all masculine: **colǫrem, dolǫrem.** In Gallo-Romanic they all became feminine: *la chaleur, la douleur*; and this new gender took such strong root that similar French words formed by derivation, or borrowed from Latin by the Learned formation at a later date, were made feminine. Thus the adjectives *rouge, noir, vert, aigre, maigre,* have given the feminine substantives: *la rougeur, la noirceur, la verdeur, l'aigreur, la maigreur*; and, similarly, the following words of learned formation are also feminine: *la vapeur, la rigueur* (from the Latin masculine nouns **vapǫrem, rigǫrem**).

The other Romance languages have also tended more or less to make all their corresponding nouns feminine.

The reason for this change lies in the influence on the suffix **-ǫrem** of a feminine suffix with the same abstract connotation, and of a very similar form, the suffix **-ǫra**, *-ure.*

160. Action of analogous words or closely related terms.—We may regard as similar to this analogical action of suffixes the effect, on certain words, of words of analogous form, or of closely related terms used in certain expressions more or less sanctioned by custom.

Minuit, still feminine in Corneille, has become masculine by analogy with **midi.**

Après-midi, masculine according to its etymology, has also become feminine by analogy with *après-dînée, après-soupée.*

Sang, from the Latin masculine **sǫnguinem**, has become feminine only in the expression *par la sang Dieu* (which by a corruption has yielded *par la sang bleu, palsambleu*), owing to the influence of *de par la mort-Dieu.*

La Toussaint (an abbreviation for *la* [*fête de*] *tous les saints*) has led to the feminine genders in *la Mi-Carême, la mi-janvier, la mi-août.*

Front, from the Latin feminine **frontem,** has become masculine by analogy with other words in *-ont,* e.g. *pont, mont.*

Épiderme, feminine in Greek and Latin (**epidermis**), has become masculine owing to the influence of *derme,* derived from the Greek neuter (δέρμα).

Été, from the Latin feminine **aestatem,** became masculine in the earliest period of French owing to the genders of *printemps* and *hiver.*

Val, feminine in the Latin **vallem,** and still feminine in proper nouns (*Froideval, Laval*), became masculine, either owing to the expression *par monts et par vaux* (*over hill and dale*), or by analogy with such words as *cheval, chevaux.*

Épeautre, from the Latin feminine **spelta,** has become masculine like other names of plants: *le blé, le froment, le seigle.*

161. Syntactic actions.—(i) The gender of a substantive in certain phrases may depend on the gender of another substantive which has been **elided and is understood**: *la Toussaint, la Saint-Jean* (*fête* being understood).

Noël is feminine in *la Noël,* owing to the ellipsis of *fête*; masculine in *Noël est arrivé,* owing to the ellipsis of *jour.*

Pâques is a feminine substantive corresponding to a Latin neuter plural: *La Pâque des Juifs, les Pâques chrétiennes, Pâques fleuries* (*Palm-Sunday*), *Pâques closes* (*Low-Sunday*). But it appears as a masculine owing to the ellipsis of *jour* (*de*) in *Pâques prochain, Pâques est venu, Pâques est passé, Pâques est haut, est bas, cette année.*

Merci is a feminine substantive: *la merci, une merci,*

dire une grand' merci (*grand* being here a feminine adjective (§§ 177, ii and 180, iv); this last expression, in the 16th century, led, by mistake, to the phrase *dire un grand merci*, making *merci* masculine.

To the same category belong all substantives which were originally adjectives and which now have a double gender, being either masculine or feminine, according to their meaning:

le critique (*critic*)	and	*la critique* (*criticism*)
le fourbe (*male impostor*)	,,	*la fourbe* (*female impostor, imposture*)
le parallèle (*a parallel, in comparison*)	,,	*la parallèle* (*parallel line*)
le pendule (*pendulum*)	,,	*la pendule* (*clock*)
le physique (*physique*)	,,	*la physique* (*physics*)
le quadrille (*quadrille, &c.*)	,,	*la quadrille* (*party of horsemen in a tournament*)
le vague (*vagueness*), &c.	,,	*la vague* (*wave*), &c.

Names of colours, even when they are formed from feminine substantives denoting coloured objects, are masculine, or rather neuter: *un beau couleur de feu*; also *amarante, aurore, cerise, écarlate, feuille-morte, gorge de pigeon, jonquille, mauve, noisette, orange, paille, pourpre, puce, rose*, &c.

(ii) The change of gender has been, in some cases, due to a **change in sense.**

Brebis (*ewe*), now a feminine substantive, from the Latin masculine **vervecem** (*ram*).

Jument (*mare*), now a feminine substantive, from the Latin neuter **jumentum** (*beast of burden*).

Personne.—(1) *In the plural, personnes,* used as an equivalent for *hommes,* was masculine in the 16th and 17th centuries: *quatre personnes diversement* **vestus** (Rabelais, iv, 48); *peu de personnes sont* **morts** (Ambroise Paré, xxiii, 18); *J'ai veu des personnes* **reprins** (Mod. F. *repris*) *d'avoir obéi* (Montaigne, ed. Leclerc, i, 60).

In the 17th century the qualifying words and pronouns referring to the word *personnes* had to be separated by other words from this substantive; such qualifying words and pronouns were in that case masculine: *Deux personnes s'y arrêtent pour parler et quelquefois il faut présumer qu'*ils *marchent* (Corneille, *Examen du Cid*); *Des personnes qui . . . étaient* **parfumés eux**-*mêmes* (La Fontaine, *Psyché*, 2); *Jamais je n'ai vu deux personnes si* **contents l'un** *de l'autre* (Molière, *Don Juan*, 1, 2); *Les personnes d'esprit ont en* **eux** *les semences de toutes les vérités*: **ils** *admirent tout* (La Bruyère, ed. Servois, p. 127). In the 17th century, grammarians discussed with subtlety the cases in which the words referring to *personnes* should become masculine or remain feminine.

The above use of *personnes* as a masculine disappeared in the 18th century.

(2) *In the singular.*—When *personne* is used in negative or interrogative sentences it becomes an indefinite substantive, and therefore in Modern French takes the masculine gender (see § 141). In the 16th century we still find the feminine: (*Sans*) *que personne y soit* **admise** (Ambroise Paré, xxiv, 52). The modern usage was established in the 18th century: *personne n'est* **parfait**.

The grammarians of the 17th and 18th centuries discussed the question whether *personne* in an indeterminate sense should be feminine when it obviously denoted a woman. Father Chifflet [1598–1658] in his Grammar condemns the phrase *je ne vois personne* **si belle** *que vous*, but wrongly, since *on n'est pas plus* **belle** is accepted as correct, although **on** is an essentially masculine substantive; *personne*, on the other hand, was originally feminine.

On and **l'on** become feminine when they denote a woman: *Il s'y passe* (à Paris) *tous les jours cent choses qu'on ignore dans les provinces, quelque* **spirituelle** *que l'on soit.* (Molière, *Précieuses ridicules*, 10).

Enfant becomes feminine when it denotes a girl: *Vous*

m'aimez, ma chère enfant (Mme. de Sévigné to Mme. de Grignan, Feb. 9, 1671).

Ancêtre (now masc.): the grammarian Maupas (1625) makes it of both genders.

Couple, originally feminine, from the Latin **cǫpulam**, became masculine in the beginning of the Middle Ages. In the 16th century, by a reversion to the Latin gender, the word became also feminine, and both genders were used indiscriminately: *une couple de beaux chevaux* (Marguerite de Navarre, *Nouvelles*, xxvi), *un bon couple de bœufs* (Rabelais, *Gargantua*, i, 39).

In the 17th and 18th centuries the grammarians determined the use of both genders with more or less precision: *couple* is masculine when it denotes two creatures matched together: **un** *couple d'amis*, **un beau** *couple*, **un** *couple de pigeons*; it is feminine when it denotes an accidental group of two things of the same kind: **une** *couple d'œufs*.

Gent, from the Lat. feminine **gǫntem**, is feminine in the singular: *L'enseigne à qui* **sa** *gent s'allient* (Mod. F. *L'enseigne sous laquelle sa troupe se rassemble*) (*Roland*, l. 1641). **La** *Gent trotte-menu* (Mod. F. *la gent à petits pas*) (La Fontaine, Fab. iii, 18). **Gens** was formerly also feminine in the plural: *Et maintes autres bones gens* (Villehardouin [1167–1213], 3); *de toutes gens louée* (Ch. d'Orléans [1391–1465], Ballad 23); but when the adjective followed **gens** it might also be masculine. Marot [1495–1544] gives us both the masculine and feminine in this case: *Par gens brutaux passés à l'étamine* (= *examined*) (v, 353). *Les vieilles gens tu rens* (Mod. F. *rends*) *fortes et vives*; *les jeunes gens tu fais récréatives* (ii, 268).

Thus *gens* could be made masculine when the adjective followed it. It obviously took in this case the sense of *hommes*, a masculine plural substantive. Thus was formed the modern usage. When an adjective precedes the substantive, the two are regarded as a single unit, the adjective being so closely connected with the substantive

as to form a kind of compound word. When, on the contrary, the adjective follows the substantive, even immediately, it is separated from it by a proposition understood: *un homme honnête* is equivalent to *un homme* (*qui est*) *honnête.*

The tendency of the language to consider *gens* as a term synonymous with *hommes*, and consequently to make it masculine, has been strong enough to impose this new gender on all words in agreement with *gens* except in the special case where *gens* was immediately preceded by a determinant possessing a feminine recognizable by its form. In this case the union of the adjective with the substantive was too close to make the new usage prevail over the old, and thus was formed the modern rule according to which the determinants of *gens* are made masculine, whether they precede or follow it, except when *gens* is *immediately* preceded by an adjective with distinct genders and with which it is closely connected by the sense. In this case only, the adjective and the other preceding determinants are put in the feminine; thus we say: **ces** *gens sont* **heureux**; **tous** *gens* **aimables**; **tous** *les gens*; *heureux* **ces** *gens*; *les* **vieilles** *gens sont* **malheureux**.

Rien, from **rem**, was feminine in Old French and until the 16th century, although from the 15th century the masculine appears already when the word is used in an indeterminate sense. *Rien* was originally equivalent to the modern *chose*: *la riens que j'aime* = in O. F. *the thing which I like*; then, having taken an indefinite sense (as *an insignificant thing*, and, hence, *nothing*), especially in negative sentences, *rien* received the gender of the logical neuter, that is the masculine: *Ci-gist* **un** *rien, là où tout triompha* (Marot, iii, 262).

Chose has in the same way become masculine in *quelque chose* and *autre chose.* This change is modern. In the 16th century and the beginning of the 17th, *chose* still keeps its proper gender in these expressions: *Il faut donc*

trouver quelque chose plus **générale** (Malherbe, ed. Lalanne, ii, p. 475).

Je vous voulois tantôt proposer quelque chose,
Mais il n'est plus besoin que je vous **la** *propose,*
Car **elle** *est impossible.* (Pierre Corneille, *Menteur*, iii, 5.)

Vaugelas, Thomas Corneille, and the Academy declared that these expressions, corresponding to Latin neuter nouns, ought to be made masculine.

We may further quote the following examples of change of gender due to change of meaning:—

Peste (*plague*), used figuratively. *C'est une* **méchante** *peste,* **une** *peste de valet,* has led to the figurative use: *cet enfant est* **un petit** *peste.*

Aide, élève, garde, manœuvre, trompette, enseigne, cornette, paillasse, guide, are feminine in the literal sense, or in an *abstract* sense when denoting the actions of helping, raising, guarding, &c. When used in the *concrete* sense, *trompette, enseigne,* &c., take either gender, according as they apply to men or women: **un** *aide,* **une** *aide*; **un** *élève,* **une** *élève*; **un** *garde,* **une** *garde*; **un** *manœuvre,* **une** *manœuvre*; **un** *trompette,* **un** *enseigne,* **un** *cornette,* **un** *paillasse* (*clown*), **un** *guide.*

In this way the Old French **nourrisson**, a verbal noun from **nourrir**, and originally a feminine substantive, has become the masculine **nourrisson**[1].

Lastly, a somewhat considerable number of substantives denoting persons or things differ in their gender according to their signification, such as: **bulle, cartouche, claque, interligne, laque, lévite, manche, masque, mémoire, mode, monogramme, période, pique, pivoine,** &c.

162. Reversion to the Latin gender.—The reversion to the Latin gender, which we find in the case of some

[1] [The English equivalent *a suckling* is a diminutive in *-ing* from the O. E. verbal noun *sokel* (Skeat), and is not therefore due to an exactly parallel transformation of the verbal *suckling*, as might seem at first sight.]

words, is a purely artificial reversion and is the work of writers preoccupied with etymology.

It was at the end of the Middle Ages that an endeavour was made to restore to certain substantives the gender of Latin substantives from which they were rightly or wrongly derived.

Évêché, archevêché, duché, comté, vicomté, and **archidiaconé,** all nouns which were feminine in Old and Middle French, and well into the 17th century, have again become masculine, because they were derived from Latin substantives ending with the masculine suffix **-atus.** *Comté* has only remained feminine in *la Franche-Comté.*

Ongle, from the Latin **ungula,** was feminine, in conformity with its etymology, until the 17th century. It was then erroneously supposed to be derived from the masculine substantive **unguis,** which has the same meaning, and thus became masculine.

Some writers have considered the word *insulte,* a verbal substantive from *insulter,* as masculine, as if it were derived from the Latin masculine substantive **insultus.**

Others have considered the substantives *porche* and *dialecte* as feminine, deriving them from Latin forms which are feminine.

Changes of this kind have chiefly affected the nouns in **-eur.** We have seen above (p. 24) that these nouns were masculine in Classical Latin, and that they became feminine in the Popular Latin of the Gauls. In the 15th and 16th centuries an attempt was made to restore to nouns in **-eur** the Classical Latin gender. Calvin says: **un** *ardeur* **impétueux** (*Institution Chrétienne,* Dedication). In the 15th and 16th centuries both genders are ascribed to *erreur, horreur, humeur, mœurs,* as well as to *honneur* and *déshonneur.* The attempt made with regard to the first four substantives failed, but *honneur* and *déshonneur,* which were feminine in Old French, have become irrevocably masculine.

Labeur (masc.) does not belong to this class of words, as it does not come from the Latin **laborem**, which gave the O. F. *laor*, but is a verbal substantive from the verb *labourer* (*to work*[1]), like the substantive *labour*[2], derived in the same way, but later, from the same verb.

Amour was feminine in Old French. At the end of the Middle Ages it became masculine, as was **amor** in Latin. Both genders have been preserved side by side down to the present day. *Amour* in the plural is of both genders, except in the mythological sense, when it is masculine: *les Amours*. In the singular it is more usually masculine and is only used in the feminine in poetry.

Aigle, feminine in the Classical Latin **aquilam**, became masculine both in Popular Latin and Old French. In the 16th century it was of both genders. At present it may still be used in the feminine in the literal sense in rhetorical language. In the figurative sense it is masculine when it denotes a person of superior intellect, and feminine when it denotes the Roman standard.

163. INEXPLICABLE CHANGE OF GENDER IN CERTAIN SUBSTANTIVES.—We cannot account for the change of gender in a certain number of nouns.

The following feminine nouns have become masculine: *amalgame, chanvre, cloaque, diocèse, grimoire* (a popular doublet of *grammaire*), *losange, mélange, navire, risque, reproche, soupçon, sort, tige* (only in the 16th century), &c..

The following masculine nouns have become feminine: *font* (the radical of *fontaine*) and *dent* (which is still masculine in Lorraine).

164. THE FEMININE OF NOUNS DENOTING PERSONS.—We must now consider the formation of the feminine *in nouns denoting persons* and *nouns denoting animals*.

[1] [= to turn over the soil with a spade, plough, or other implement.]
[2] [Now only used in technical expressions.]

In nouns denoting persons there is in general an agreement between the grammatical gender and that which is indicated by the sex. However, owing to the character of their terminations, the feminine gender may be assigned to nouns denoting men, such as: *une estafette, une recrue, une sentinelle*; and the masculine gender to nouns denoting women: *un laideron, un souillon* (*slut*), *un tendron.*

On the other hand, as we have seen above (§ 161, 2), the language sometimes endeavours to establish an agreement between the form and sense, as in: *un enseigne, un guide, une enfant.*

Certain nouns denoting persons are exclusively either masculine or feminine, because they apply to states or professions exclusively, or more particularly, belonging to one or the other sex. Thus we say: *une femme auteur*[1], *cette femme est un parfait écrivain, un peintre de talent, un bon professeur.* We understand, however, the freedom of writers who have given a feminine form to certain of these words: Voltaire tried *professeuse*, Jean-Jacques Rousseau *peintresse*[2] and *amatrice*, and Mirabeau *brigande. Douairière, lavandière,* no longer, in the modern language[3], possess

[1] It was ironically that Boileau wrote:

Vais-je épouser ici quelque apprentie auteur?

Sat. x, l. 464.

[2] Certain grammarians would have us say *la peintre. Les graveuses* and *les peintresses* are used at the present day in speaking of ladies who engrave on wood and paint on porcelain in professional schools. We may add that the feminine nouns *peintresse, amatrice,* and *brigande* were used in the language of the 16th century, which was much freer than the French of the present day.

[3] The masculine nouns *douairier, lavandier,* and *vivandier* have become archaic: *douairier,* in the phrase *enfant douairier* (a child that inherits his mother's marriage portion and renounces his father's inheritance), is an obsolete legal term; the *lavandier* was the officer whose duty it was to superintend the washing of the royal linen; *vivandier,* in the sense of the Eng. *sutler,* has been generally replaced by the word *cantinier.* As for *modiste* (now fem.), it must not be forgotten that on its introduction in the language in the 18th century it was of both genders, was used in the sense of both *marchand* and *marchande de modes,* and not only in the restricted

corresponding masculine nouns. In our own time the masculine noun *couturier* has been derived from *couturière.*

When a feminine substantive is used to correspond to a given masculine substantive, this feminine may be formed in various ways:

(i) The masculine substantive may be made feminine without change of spelling, the simple indication given by the gender of the determinant sufficing: *un élève, une élève*; *un garde, une garde.*

(ii) The feminine may be expressed by a different word, or by the same word with a marked modification of the termination:

homme, mari	*femme*
père	*mère*
papa	*maman*
parrain	*marraine*
parâtre	*marâtre*
fils, garçon	*fille*
frère	*sœur*
gendre	*bru*
oncle	*tante*
neveu	*nièce*
roi	*reine*
vieillard	*vieille*
compagnon	*compagne*
serviteur	*servante*
gouverneur	*gouvernante*

Vieille is the feminine corresponding to the alternative masculine forms *vieil* and *vieux.*

Compagne is derived from the Latin **compānia**, which contains the same radical as **companio** and **companionem**,

sense of 'milliner' as at present. [The change has resulted from the restriction in the sense of *modes*, which originally applied to the objects of clothing worn by women in general, but now only applies to millinery, which is almost exclusively sold by women.]

which gave *copain*[1] (cf. the O. F. *compaing*) and *compagnon*, but with a feminine suffix **-ia** added[2].

Servante is the feminine of *servant*; the latter is only used (1) in archaic expressions: *gentilshommes servants*[3], les *frères servants de l'ordre de Malte*; or (2) figuratively: *un cavalier servant, un servant d'amour* (*lover*); and also in the special sense of *un servant d'artillerie*[4] (*gunner*). In the sense corresponding to *servante*, it has been replaced by a word of learned formation, *serviteur*, borrowed from the Latin **servitor**.

Gouvernante is the feminine of *gouvernant*, which is no longer used in the singular except as an adjective; it is still used in the plural, but only in a special sense, *les gouvernants* (= *rulers*); it has been replaced in the singular, in the sense corresponding to *gouvernante* (*governess*), by *gouverneur*, a derivative from *gouverner*.

(iii) The feminine may be formed as in adjectives, by the addition of an **e** mute, which sometimes causes the final consonant of the masculine to undergo change: *cousin, cousin***e**; *marquis, marquis***e**; *paysan, paysann***e**; *époux, épous***e**; *veuf, veuv***e**; *fou, fol***le**.

(iv) As a rule the feminine is formed by the addition of the suffix **-esse** (from the Latin **-issa**, see Book III, § 317, 2): *borgne, borgnesse*; *chanoine, -esse*; *comte, -esse*; *drôle, -esse*; *druide, -esse*; *duc, duchesse*[5]; *hôte, -esse*; *ivrogne, -esse*; *ladre, -esse*; *maître, -esse*; *mulâtre, -esse*; *moine, -esse*; *nègre, -esse*; *pair, -esse*; *pape, -esse*; *patron, -nesse*; *pauvre, -esse*; *poète, -esse*; *prêtre, -esse*; *prince, -esse*; *prophète, -esse*; *sauvage, -esse*; *traître, -esse*, &c.

Traître in Old French was declined, and gave in the

[1] [= the English *chum*.]

[2] [And the elision of the **-ion** of the radical, according to the general rule in Latin derivation.]

[3] The gentlemen who waited at the King's table.

[4] [Cf. the English 'to serve a gun.']

[5] [With regard to the change of *c* into *ch*, see § 185, *c*.]

nominative singular *traître*, and in the accusative *traitor*. The nominative *traître* has become *traître* in the masculine, and in the feminine *traîtresse*. The accusative *traitor* became successively *traïteur* and *traiteur*, with a feminine *traitreuse*, which has survived only in the adverb *traîtreusement*.

We may also add *deesse*, *diaconesse*, *doctoresse*, formed on the Latin model from the corresponding masculine nouns (**de-us**, **diacon-us**, **doctor**).

(v) Nouns denoting agents, in **-eur**, form their feminine by a change of **-eur** into **-euse**: *menteur*, *menteuse*.

In Old French these nouns first formed their feminines in **-eriz**: *pecheor*, *pecheriz*; *empereor*, *empereriz*. -eor, -eur, corresponded to the Latin **-atorem**; **-eriz** to the Latin **-atricem**. At a fairly early period **-eriz** was changed into **-eresse** under the influence of the suffix **-esse** above mentioned: *ment-eur*, *ment-eresse*; *dans-eur*, *dans-eresse*. Finally, from the 14th century onwards, a new confusion arose between the masculines in **-eur** and the masculines of adjectives in **-eux**, **-euse** (Latin **-osus**, **-osa**), because the final **r** in the former, and the **x** (that is, the final **s**; see Book I, p. 152) in the latter, were gradually dropped in pronunciation. The two endings were pronounced **eu**, and the **eu** of **-eur** was then confused with the **eu** of **-eux**, **-euse**: *menteur*, being pronounced *menteu*, thus gave the feminine *menteuse*, just as *heureux*, pronounced *heureu*, gave the feminine *heureuse*. Later on, the **r** reappeared in pronunciation, but the feminines in **-euse** survived nevertheless (see § 316, 23).

The termination **-eresse**, thus replaced by the termination **-euse**, has been preserved only (1) in certain technical terms, all somewhat archaic, and concerning law or special callings: *bailleresse*, *défenderesse*, *demanderesse*[1], *guinderesse*[2], &c., and (2) in a few words adopted in poetical usage: *chasseresse*, *devineresse*, *vengeresse*.

[1] [= *lessor*, *defendant*, *plaintiff*, respectively, in the feminine gender.]
[2] [= *top-rope* (nautical).]

(vi) Nouns denoting an agent, in **-teur, -trice,** mostly differ from the preceding ones in being of learned formation, and in having their feminines directly derived from the corresponding Latin feminines. Thus the masculine **persecutorem** and the feminine **persecutricem** have passed from Latin into French in the forms *persécuteur, persécutrice*; similarly we have *conservateur, conservatrice*; *directeur, directrice*; *exécuteur, exécutrice*; *protecteur, protectrice*; *tentateur, tentatrice.*

Cantatrice. The feminine of *chanteur* was, and is still, **chanteuse**: *les premières et les secondes chanteuses à l'opéra*; *les chanteuses des rues.* Primadonnas, finding this feminine too simple, have assumed the finer-sounding name **cantatrice,** taken from the Italian, and taken directly by Italian from Latin.

Ambassadrice. *Ambassadeur,* a foreign word borrowed from the Italian, which at the end of the 14th century replaced the old word *ambasseor,* has since the 17th century possessed a feminine *ambassadrice,* formed on the type of nouns in **-teur, -trice.**

165. THE FEMININE OF NOUNS DENOTING ANIMALS.—Nouns denoting animals may apply either to **species** exclusively, or to **individuals.**

When they denote **species** they are generally masculine or feminine according to their gender in the original language from which they have been derived: *le chat, le chien, le serpent, le rat, la vipère, l'hyène* (fem.), &c.

When they denote **individual** animals the words *mâle* or *femelle* are generally added to the name of the species in the case of wild animals: *souris mâle, souris femelle*; *serpent mâle, serpent femelle.*

In the case of domestic animals, and also of certain wild animals, there may be three distinct names, one for the species, one for the male, and one for the female:

Species.	Male.	Female.
cheval	*étalon*	*jument*
bœuf	*taureau*	*vache*
cochon	*porc*	*truie*
mouton	*bélier*	*brebis*

Sometimes a feminine noun is used to denote both the female and the species, and a masculine noun is used to denote the male:

Female and species.	Male.
chèvre	*bouc*
poule	*coq*
oie	*jars*
abeille	*bourdon*

Sometimes, on the other hand, a masculine noun is used to denote both the male and species, and a feminine noun is used to denote the female:

Male and species.	Female.
mulet	*mule*
chien	*chienne*
cerf	*biche*
singe	*guenon*
lièvre	*hase*
chameau	*chamelle*
sanglier	*laie*
tigre	*tigresse*

The masculine and feminine may (1) be derived from two different radicals: *coq, poule*; *cerf, biche*; or (2) be formed by modifying the same radical differently: *mulet, mule*; *lévrier, levrette*; *loup, louve.* The feminine is derived directly from the masculine in *chat, chatte*; *lion, lionne*; and the masculine from the feminine in *mule, mulet*; *dinde, dindon.* The language takes thus a free course in this matter, choosing such expressions as it finds at hand.

III. Numbers.

166. ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH PLURAL.—The French numbers are derived from the Latin numbers, i. e. the French singular is derived directly from the Latin singular, and the French plural from the Latin plural. The forms of the Old French declension, *murs, mur*, and *mur, murs*, are the direct representatives of the corresponding Latin forms, **murus, murum**, and **muri, muros**. It is then incorrect *historically* to say that the modern plural *mur-s* represents the modern singular plus **s**. This is only true empirically of the language of to-day, in which the consciousness of the etymology has been lost.

167. CHANGES OF FORM CAUSED IN OLD FRENCH BY THE FLEXIONAL **s**.—The addition of the flexional **s**, when the radical ended with a consonant, gave rise to a consonant-group, which in the course of time underwent various changes.

In Old French, when the substantive ended with a **labial** or a **palatal**, these consonants dropped before the **s** (§ 100). If the final was a **dental**, it combined with the **s** and became a **z** (§ 69, note). If it was an **l**, or an **l** *mouillée*, it changed into **u** (§§ 105, 106, 107). Lastly, if the word ended with the groups **rm** or **rn**, the **m** or **n** was dropped (§ 100).

In examining these facts, we shall, in what follows, omit all mention of the nominative, as this case has not survived in the modern language[1], and take into consideration only the accusatives singular and plural.

Thus in Old French:

(i) When the final consonant was a **labial**, it dropped before the **s** of the plural.

b: *le gab* (*joke*), *les gas*; *le radoub* (*refitting*, of a ship), *les radous*.

[1] Except in a few instances, quoted § 150.

p: *le colp* (Mod. F. *coup*), *les cols*; *le drap, les dras*; *l'apprentif, les apprentis*; *le baillif, les baillis*; *le cerf, les cers*; *la clef, les clés*; *la nef, les nés*; *l'œuf, les œus.*

(ii) When the final consonant was a **palatal**, it dropped before the **s** of the plural: *le coq, les cos*; *le grec, les grés*; *le lac, les las*; *le turc, les turs.*

(iii) When the final consonant was a **dental**, the **s** combined with the dental to form a **z**: *la bontet, les bontez*; *la dent, les denz*; *l'enfant, les enfanz*; *la gent, les genz*; *tout, touz.* In the 13th century the **z**, that is the **ts**, was reduced to **s** in pronunciation, and later in writing also (§ 101), so that the case of the dentals became identical with that of the labials and palatals; and we find, corresponding to the singulars *dent, enfant, gent, tout*, the plurals *enfans, dens, gens, tous.*

(iv) When the final consonant was an **l** or **ll** *mouillée*, it was changed into **u** before the **s** of the plural, thus forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. We know (§ 107) that, if this vowel was an **è**, an **a** was intercalated after it, which produced the triphthong **ęau**, then **ęau**, then **eau**; *bèls* had successively become *bęaus* and *bęqus, bequs*, from which came *beaux* (pron. **bò**). In the Middle Ages **x** was used as an abridged sign for the final group **-us**; and, the significance of this **x** having been forgotten, in the course of time it came to be regarded as a substitute for the **s**, and the **u** was reintroduced; thus we find first *les chevax* (pron. *les chevaus*), and then *les chevaux* (§ 106).

l: *Le cheval, les chevaux*; *le mal, les maux*; *le mantel, les manteaux*; *le chapèl, les chapeaux*; *le chevèl, les cheveux*; *le col, les cous*; *l'aïeul, les aïeux*; *le ciel, les cieux.*

ł: *le travail, les travaux*; *le conseil, les conseux* (Mod. F. *conseils*); *le linceul, les linceux* (Mod. F. *linceuls*); *le genouil, les genoux.*

(v) When the final consonants were **-rm** or **-rn**, the **m** or **n** was dropped before the **s** of the plural: *le verm, les vers*;

le forn (Mod. F. *four*), *les fors*; *le jorn* (Mod. F. *jour*), *les jors*; *le torn* (Mod. F. *tour*), *les tors*.

Thus in Old French the flexional **s**, in various cases, modified the form of the word considerably, and even led to a change in vowels capable of having either an open or a close modification. In *coq* the **o** was open, in *cos* the **o** was close; in *Grec* the **e** was open, in *Grés* it was close.

At the end of the Middle Ages, under the influence of analogy, the melodious variety of sound given by the use of the two forms was sacrificed to the desire to mark off the substantive more clearly from its inflexion. To obtain this result it was necessary that the plural should be nothing else than the singular plus **s**. The language in some words took the singular as the starting-point, and formed the plural by adding the **s**; in others it took the plural and formed the singular by suppressing the **s**. In certain words, however, the usage of the Middle Ages, with its double forms, has survived.

168. Formation of the plural from the singular. —This is the most usual case, and has become the rule in Modern French: *un Grec, des Grecs*; *un Turc, des Turcs*; *un coq, des coqs*; *une nef, des nefs*. However, in pronunciation, if not in orthography, traces of the old usage have been preserved: *un bœuf, des bœufs* (pron. *bœu*); *un œuf, des œufs* (pron. *œu*); *faire échec, jouer aux échecs* (pron. *échè*)[1].

169. Formation of the singular from the plural. Effect on the pronunciation of final consonants.—The singular was formed from the plural by the suppression of the **s**. From the plurals *apprentis, baillis, fors, jors, tors, vers*, were formed the singulars *apprenti, bailli, for, jor, tor* (Mod. F. *four, jour, tour*), *ver*, which replaced

[1] We may remark, however, that the present tendency is to pronounce *échek's* and not *échès*.

the original singulars *apprentif, baillif, forn, jorn, torn, verm.*

From the plurals *étaux, hoyaux, noyaux, genoux, cous, fous, cheveux, manteaux, chapeaux,* have been formed the singulars *étau, hoyau*[1], *noyau, genou, cou, fou, cheveu, manteau, chapeau,* which have replaced the original singulars *étal, hoiel, noiel, genoil, col, fol, chevel, mantel, chapel.* In Old French we find the forms *un sold*; *des solz, sols, sous*: the later singulars, *sol* and *sou,* are derived from these plurals.

The general loss of final consonants in pronunciation, in cases where they have been preserved in spelling, must be ascribed to this action (see § 100). We write in the singular *clef, coup, drap, contrat, débit, effet, répit,* without pronouncing the **f**, **p**, or **t**[2], because these final consonants were dropped in the plural.

170. Remains of the early usage.—As it hardly ever happens that notable grammatical usages are lost without leaving any traces, we shall not be surprised to find in Modern French some remains of this particular usage.

(i) Among words ending with a **dental** must be quoted *tout* and *gent,* with the plurals *tous* and *gens.* The word *tout* was used very frequently, though in a very special sense. In the plural *tous* the final **s** has remained audible in many cases when the word is accented[3], although in other words ending in the singular with a dental it dropped in pronunciation; this accounts for the preservation of the old spellings in both numbers. As for *gent,* the singular has gradually become almost disused: the old plural has thus necessarily been preserved.

We may notice that in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of the present day, by a mere, and somewhat pedantic,

[1] [= **mattock.**]

[2] [**The finals of these words are not pronounced even before a vowel.**]

[3] [**The *s* is often pronounced even before a consonant: *tous-s' viendront*; though Littré condemns this pronunciation.**]

caprice of archaism, the old spelling of the plural of nouns in *-ant, -ent,* has been preserved, the **t** being omitted before the **s**: *les parens, les enfans, les hommes prudens.*

(ii) It is in words ending in **l** or **ll** *mouillée* that the older usage has been most faithfully preserved.

-Al. All nouns in **-al** now form their plural in **-aux,** except *bal, cal* (*callosity*), *chacal, carnaval, nopal* (*prickly pear*), *pal* (*stake,* &c.), *régal, serval.* Some of these words are of recent formation; the rest are old, but their use in the plural has been too rare for them to have acquired the termination in **-aux.**

We must mention *universel* and *matériel,* the plurals of which, *universaux* and *matériaux,* are traceable to the old forms *universal, material.* The plurals *universaux, matériaux,* have assumed special significations, which make of them words different from *universel* and *matériel*[1].

-El. *Ciel,* plural *cieux.* In Modern French a plural *ciels* has been formed with a special meaning (plural of *sky* in the literal sense, or in art, not of *heaven*).

-Eul. *Aïeul,* plural *aïeux.* In the 18th century a new plural *aïeuls* was formed, which is used in the literal sense of *grandparents,* while *aïeux* is still used for the figurative sense of *ancestors.*

-Ail. Certain words in **-ail,** *bail, corail, émail, soupirail, travail, vantail*[2], *vitrail,* form their plural by a change of the **il** (pronounced as **l** *mouillée*) into **ux.** The other nouns in **-ail** take an **s.** The language has long hesitated with regard to this point. We find until the 17th century, on the one hand, des *soupirails*; on the other des *épouvantaux,* des *éventaux,* des *plumaux,* des *poitraux,* des *portaux.* It was only about the second half of the 17th century that the modern usage was finally established.

[1] [Both *universaux* and *matériaux* have become transformed, like the corresponding English terms, into substantives; *universaux* signifies the *universals* of the scholastic philosophy; *matériaux* = *materials.*]

[2] = the leaf of a folding-door or shutter.

The Dictionary of the Academy gives two uses for the plural *travails* from *travail*: an instrument with which to shoe horses, and the report of an administrator to his chief. But these definitions are contradicted by current usage, as the word *travails*, in the senses quoted, is hardly ever used.

The word *ail* (*garlic*) has two plurals, *ails* (*alliaceous plants*) and *aulx* (*cloves of garlic*). In the latter form is preserved the superabundant spelling of the 15th and 16th centuries: the *l* was inserted to avoid confusion with the plural article *aux*.

Bestiaux (*beasts*) is not the plural of *bétail* (*cattle*), but of an archaic substantive *bestial*, now only used as an adjective.

-Eil. To *appareil* now corresponds a plural *apparaux* in a technical sense (to denote certain engineering and gymnastic appliances), but in reality *apparaux* is the plural of an ancient dialectal form *apparail*.

-Euil. Amongst the words in **-euil** we must distinguish those in which this termination is due to their etymology, e.g. *œil* (O.F. *ueil*, pronounced as if it had been written *euil*), *seuil*, and verbal substantives like *accueil*, from those which only took this termination by analogy with words of the foregoing class: *chevreuil* (formerly *chevruel*, *chevreul*), *linceul* (pron. *linceuil*), and also *cercueil* (formerly *sarqueu*). The original plurals of both series of words ended in **-eux**: *yeux*, *chevreux*, &c. This explains why the latter series have taken in the singular a termination identical with that of the former. Gradually both series of words came to form their plurals from their singulars: *œils de chat* (*cat's-eyes*), *œils de perdrix* (*bunions*, &c.), *seuils*, *chevreuils*, *linceuls* (pron. *linceuils*), *cercueils*. Of the old forms the plural *yeux*[1] alone has survived.

[1] *Œil*, pronounced *eu-ï*, formerly written *ueil*, should have given a plural form *ueus*, *ueux*; the triphthong being, however, very difficult to pronounce, the initial u was changed into i, whence the form *ieus*, which is now written *yeux*.

171. PLURALS IN X.—It is one of the rules of modern French grammar to replace the **s** of the plural by **x** in words ending (1) in **-au**: un *tuyau*, des *tuyaux*; (2) in **-eau**: un *manteau*, des *manteaux*; (3) in **-eu**: un *cheveu*, des *cheveux*, un *jeu*, des *jeux*; and (4) in seven nouns ending in **-ou**: *bijou*, *caillou*, *chou*, *genou*, *hibou*, *joujou*, *pou*. The other nouns in **-ou** take an **s**: un *cou*, un *clou*; des *cous*, des *clous*. The word *landau* gives *landaus* in the plural.

This strange and worthless rule, which the French Academy would do well to suppress, is due to a vague reminiscence of the usage in Middle French, according to which the *-us* was replaced in writing by an *x* after an **l** or an **l** *mouillée* which had been transformed into the vowel **u** (§§ 106 and 167, iv.).

Nouns in **-au** (except *landau*, from the German town of that name) and words in **-eau** are derived from primitive forms in **-al** and **-el**.

The word *cheveu* comes from *chevel*, and the **x** of the plural *cheveux* has led to the use of the **x** in the plurals of all other words in **-eu**, although they do not come from nouns in **-el**: *feux*, *jeux*, *vœux*, &c.

Among the nouns in **-ou**, *genoux*, *poux*, come from *genouil*, *pouil*; *choux* comes from *chol*; but *bijoux*, *cailloux*, *hiboux*, *joujoux*, do not come from nouns in either **-ouil** or **-ol**. On the other hand, the plurals of *col* (in the sense of *neck*[1]) and *fol* are *cous* and *fous*.

It would be more simple, and more in conformity with the traditions of the language, to return to the old formation of the plural and replace the **x** in all cases by an **s**.

172. PLURAL OF FOREIGN NOUNS.—The question arises, should the plurals of nouns of foreign origin be formed according to French, or to foreign usage? The French Academy follows French usage when the word has been finally naturalized. Otherwise it follows the grammatical

[1] [In the sense of collar, the plural of *col* is *cols*, e. g. des *faux-cols*.]

rules of the original language, at least in the case of such languages as are sufficiently well known in France, e.g. Latin, Italian, or English. French grammarians are not, however, so strict in their logic as to take the original plural when it is a question, for instance, of German, Spanish, Greek, Hebrew, or notably of Arabic, which has given so many words to French. In these cases they do not trouble themselves about the original plurals.

Is not this really an acknowledgement that the discussions of the grammarians about this matter are mere pedantry? They give foreign nouns the plurals of the languages from which they are taken, when they are acquainted with these languages. The principle is artificial, and a trifle uncertain. The right thing to do would be to follow French traditions and to gallicize all foreign words, whether they are adopted or not in ordinary usage. French people should not be required to speak a mixture of Italian, English, and Latin. Let their French be frankly French, and let words that have come from abroad be marked at once with the true French stamp. If it is fitting that the decisions of the Academy should be obeyed in cases where a decision has been made, in the numerous cases where it has kept silent no hesitation should be felt in appropriating these foreign words and in gallicizing them.

173. PLURAL OF COMPOUND NOUNS.—See under Syntax, Book IV, § 363.

174. PLURAL OF INVARIABLE WORDS TAKEN SUBSTANTIVELY.—In Modern French, indeclinable words used as substantives remain *undeclined*: des *a* (*some a's*, &c.), des *b*, des *oui*, des *non*, des *car*, des *pourquoi*, trois *un* de suite font III (three one's in a row make III). In Old French they were declinable[1]; and this was quite logical, since, as they

[1] [As they are in English. Cf. the translation given in the text, and 'But me no buts,' 'Talk'st thou to me of ifs?']

are considered as substantives, they should be submitted to the rules of substantives. In Joinville, Saint Louis, speaking of the difficulty of making any one return stolen goods, says: *Li rendres escorchoit la gorge pour les errres qui y sont*[1] (ed. de Wailly, § 33).

Modern French grammar has made substantives of these words by placing an article before them, and yet, by a flagrant contradiction, continues to regard them as indeclinable words, since they are refused the sign of the plural.

SECTION III.—*The Grammatical Forms of the Noun-Adjective.*

175. Declension of Latin adjectives. Two classes of adjectives.

I. CASES.—176. Declension of the masculine adjective in Old French.—177. Declension of the feminine adjective in Old French.—178. Indeclinable adjectives in Old French.—179. The old adjective declension has left scarcely any traces.

II. GENDERS.—180. Loss of the second class of adjectives.—181. Remnants of the second class of adjectives in Modern French.—182. Influence of the feminine form of the adjective on the masculine.—183. Adjectives ending in *e* mute in the masculine.—184. Disturbing action of certain orthographic irregularities on the spelling of feminine forms.—185. Differences in the disturbing action of phonetic laws, according as the adjective ends with a labial, dental, palatal, nasal, or liquid, or a vowel.

III. NUMBERS.—186. General rule for the formation of the plural.—187. Peculiarities of the plural of certain adjectives.

IV. DEGREES OF COMPARISON.—188. Degrees of comparison in Latin.—189. The Comparative in French.—190. The Superlative in French.

Introduction.

175. DECLENSION OF LATIN ADJECTIVES. TWO CLASSES OF ADJECTIVES.—Latin adjectives were divided into two classes.

The first comprised those adjectives which followed in the masculine and neuter the inflexion of the masculine and neuter substantives of the 2nd declension (**murus**,

[1] Modern French: *Le rendre écorchait la gorge à cause des* r *qui s'y trouvent.*

liber, templum), and in the feminine the inflexion of the feminine substantives of the 1st declension (**rosa**). They were declined in the nominative and the accusative as follows:

			Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
(i)	Sing.	Nom.	bonus	bona	bonum
		Acc.	bonum	bonam	bonum
	Plur.	Nom.	boni	bonae	bona
		Acc.	bonos	bonas	bona
(ii)	Sing.	Nom.	niger	nigra	nigrum
		Acc.	nigrum	nigram	nigrum
	Plur.	Nom.	nigri	nigrae	nigra
		Acc.	nigros	nigras	nigra

The second class contained the adjectives which followed the inflexion of the substantives of the 3rd declension.

They were declined according to the following three types:

			Masculine.	Feminine.	Neuter.
(i)	Sing.	Nom.	prudens	prudens	prudens
		Acc.	prudentem	prudentem	prudens
	Plur.	Nom.	prudentes	prudentes	prudentia
		Acc.	prudentes	prudentes	prudentia
(ii)	Sing.	Nom.	fortis	fortis	forte
		Acc.	fortem	fortem	forte
	Plur.	Nom.	fortes	fortes	fortia
		Acc.	fortes	fortes	fortia
(iii)	Sing.	Nom.	acer	acris	acre
		Acc.	acrem	acrem	acre
	Plur.	Nom.	acres	acres	acria
		Acc.	acres	acres	acria

In the adjectives, as in the substantives, the neuter was lost. We find, however, in Old French some traces of the neuter of the adjective. Certain forms which have the flexional **s** in the nominative singular masculine are

regularly used without the **s** where the adjective represents a *logical* neuter and corresponds to a *grammatical* Latin neuter: *il est escrit*[1] (*Roland*, lines 1443 and 3742). *Mout en fu liez, mout li est bel*[2] (Marie de France, *Lai de Bisclavret*, line 166).

Of the cases, the vocative, genitive, dative, and ablative were lost, and only the nominative and accusative masculine and the accusative feminine remained, just as with the substantives (§§ 146, 147).

At the end of the Middle Ages the nominative was lost even in the masculine, and the form of the accusative alone prevailed, as with the substantives (§ 149).

1. Cases.

176. Declension of the masculine adjective in Old French.—The history of the declension of the adjective in Old French is the same as that of the substantive.

(i) Among the masculines of the first class the masculine **bonus** gave in Old French:

		Latin.	French.		Latin.	French.
Nom.	Sing.	**bonus**	*bons*	Plur.	**boni**	*bon*
Acc.	„	**bonum**	*bon*	„	**bonos**	*bons*

And just as the paradigm of **murs** was imposed on all substantives ending otherwise than with an **e** mute, so the paradigm of **bons** was applied to all adjectives ending otherwise than with an **e** mute. We find, for instance, the following declension: sing. *neirs* (Lat. **niger**, Mod. F. *noir*), *neir*; plur. *neir*, *neirs*.

All adjectives which ended with an **e** mute were declined according to the type of **livre**. A great number of these adjectives correspond to Latin adjectives, which in Popular Latin, and in some instances already in Classical Latin, had passed from the second class to the first. Thus in the

[1] Modern French: *C'est écrit.*

[2] Modern French: *Il en fut très joyeux; et cela lui convient tout-à-fait.*

accusative singular the form **pauperem** had been replaced by **pauperum**; **acrem** by **acrum**, &c. Hence the Old French declension:

Nom. Sing.	*povre*	Plur.	*povre*
Acc. „	*povre*	„	*povres*

But at the end of the 12th century the nominative singular *povre*, like *livre* (p. 219), took the flexional s. Similarly we find *altre-s*, *nostre-s*, *vostre-s*.

(ii) In the second class the language started from the accusatives singular and plural, and obtained the corresponding nominatives by the application of the 'rule of the s' (§ 146). The accusatives singular and plural—

fortem, **fortes**, *fort*, *forz*, gave a nom. sing. *forz*, nom. plur. *fort*;

prudentem, **prudentes**, *prudent*, *prudenz*, gave a nom. sing. *prudenz*; nom. plur. *prudent*;

acrem, **acres**, *aigre*, *aigres*, gave first a single form for the nom. sing. and nom. plur., *aigres*; and later on *aigres* (nom. sing.) and *aigre* (nom. plur.).

177. Declension of the feminine adjective in old French.—(i) In the first class **bonam**, **bonas**, became *bone*, *bones*, as **rosam**, **rosas**, had become *rose*, *roses*.

(ii) In the second class **fortem**, **fortes**, gave *fort*, *forz*; **amabilem**, **amabiles**, *amable*, *amables*.

In the 12th century the feminines which did not end with an e mute, like the corresponding feminine substantives (§ 147), took the s in the nominative sing.: *s'amors fu si forz*[1].

178. Indeclinable adjectives in old French.—Indeclinable adjectives were only to be met with in the masculine. They were adjectives of which the radical ended with a sibilant:

[1] Modern French: *Son amour fut si fort.*

Class I. Adjectives in **-ǫsus**, O. F. *-os*, Mod. F. *-eux*: *vertuos, vertueux*, &c.

Class II. Adjectives in **-ǫnsis**, O. F. *-eis, -ois*, Mod. F. *-ois*: *corteis, cortois, courtois*, &c. These masculine adjectives kept the same termination in Old French in the nominatives and accusatives singular and plural.

179. THE OLD ADJECTIVE DECLENSION HAS LEFT SCARCELY ANY TRACES.—There are no remnants of the declension of the masculine adjective in the modern language, if we except some comparatives which will be considered later on (§ 189).

Certain adjectives, such as *preux* (O. F. *prot*, derived from a radical **prod-** found in the Lat. prōdesse), *vieux* (from Pop. Lat. **vętulum, vęclum**), end with an **x** (= *s*) which is not justified by their etymology. This sibilant is not the remains of a former nominative, but is due to the analogical influence of adjectives in *-eux* (Latin **-osus**).

II. Genders.

180. LOSS OF THE SECOND CLASS OF ADJECTIVES.—If the division of Latin adjectives into two classes had been continued in French, two great series of adjectives would have been formed: one series corresponding to the first class in Latin, and having different forms in the masculine and the feminine—**bonum**, *bon*; **bonam**, *bone*; the other series corresponding to the second class, and having only one form for both masculine and feminine, so that **verdem** (in Classical Latin **viridem**) would have given *vert* for both genders.

But the second class gradually disappeared more or less completely before the first. Nearly all the adjectives of the second class were modelled in the masculine on the type of **bon**, and in the feminine on the type of **bone**. This is the great fact which governs and explains the history of the gender of French adjectives.

We have seen (§ 176, i) that, in the Imperial period, **pąuper, pąuperis**, had already become **pąuperus, pąupera**,

pauperum. This tendency of adjectives of the second class to take the form of those of the first became more and more emphasized. In the Romanic period the Latin of Gaul changed **communis** into **communus** (*commun, commune*), **dolens** into **dolentus** (*dolent, dolente*), **follis** into **follus** (*fol, fole*), **mollis** into **mollus** (*mol, molle*).

Further, those adjectives of this second class which were indeclinable in the masculine because they ended with a sibilant (§ 178), and which if they had remained in that class would have been equally indeclinable in the feminine, passed into the first class, and thus gave in French a feminine in **e**:

dulC-is *dolz*	Fem.	*dolce*	(Mod. F. *douce*)
curtenS-is *corteis*	„	*corteise*	(Mod. F. *courtoise*)
francenS-is *franceis*	„	*franceise*	(Mod. F. *française*)

181. Remnants of the second class of adjectives in modern French.—The change, however, in Old French was not complete: a certain number of adjectives of the second class still survived with a single termination both for the masculine and the feminine. We shall call these *uniform* adjectives.

(i) Certain Latin adjectives in **-alem** had become in French uniform adjectives in *-al* or *-el*: *la Couronne royal, la vie mortel.* Thus until the 18th century we find *lettres* (fem.) *royaux, ordonnances* (fem.) *royaux*; and the term *fonts baptismaux* is still used. That *font* was really a feminine substantive is shown by the proper names *Lafont, Bonnefont, Bellefont, Fonfrede, Chaudefont* (now written *Chaux-de-Font*). The uniformity of termination in the case of these adjectives is also seen in adverbs still used in the 16th century, *loyaument, royaument, spéciaument,* of which earlier forms are *loyalment, royalment, specialment.* These adverbs have been gradually reconstructed from the more modern feminine forms taken by the corresponding adjectives: *loyalement, royalement, spécialement.*

(ii) Latin adjectives in **-antem** and **-entem** had similarly given in French uniform adjectives in *-ant* and *-ent*: *une vertu constant, une femme prudent.* From these are derived certain adverbs which, unlike the preceding ones, have been preserved in modern language: *constamment, élégamment, éloquemment, prudemment.* In spite of the efforts of writers who from the 14th century onwards endeavoured to create new forms of these adverbs from the feminine adjectives, the old forms have survived. Forms such as *diligentement, éloquentement, patientement,* &c. were unable to prevail. *Presentement,* although dating from the 13th century, and *véhémentement* were formed from the feminines *présente* and *véhémente.*

(iii) **Fort**, in the expression *elle se fait fort* (*she undertakes*), is a relic of the old usage. In Old French we have *elles se font forz,* which proves that *fort* in this instance was declined and considered as an adjective and not as an adverb. The Academy, in the 17th century, not being able to understand the apparent indeclinability of the adjective as to gender, declared that *fort* was an adverb, and prescribed the orthography *elles se font fort* (instead of *forts*), a mistaken spelling which has been preserved, owing to its authority.

Fort is still used as a feminine form in proper nouns: *Pierrefort, Rochefort,* and *Villefort.*

(iv) **Grand** has preserved its uniformity in *grand'chambre, grand'chose, grand'croix, grand'faim, grand'garde, grand'merci, grand'mère, grand'messe, grand'rue.* The only *raison d'être* for the apostrophe which follows *grand* in these expressions lies in the mistaken notion of the grammarians of the 17th century, who thought that a final **e** had been dropped and wished to make the omission apparent to the reader.

Grand is still used as a feminine form in the proper nouns *Grand-Couronne, Grand-Fontaine, Grand-lande, Grandrive, Gran(d)ville, Grand'maison.*

(v) **Vert** is feminine in the proper noun *Vauvert*, i.e. *Valvert*. *Val* in Old French was feminine, as is shown by other proper nouns: *Laval*, *Bonneval*, *Vaucluse*[1].

Such are the remnants left in the language of the second class of Old French adjectives. The formation of the feminine of these adjectives from the masculine commenced as early as the 11th century; from a very early date, therefore, the following analogical feminines made their appearance—*brieve*, *grande*, *forte*, *mortelle*, *telle*, *verte*. But although it adopted this formation of the feminine, and aimed at identity of treatment for all adjectives, the language did not suddenly abandon the system inherited from Latin. It was only in the course of time, after a series of losses which commenced during the Latin period, which became more and more evident in the Romanic period, and which increased in the Middle Ages, that the ample Latin system gave way to the new system which finally included practically all adjectives; and, even after fifteen or eighteen centuries of simplification, isolated examples of the second class of adjectives have survived in customary expressions. So difficult is it for languages to get entirely rid of their old grammatical systems.

182. Influence of the feminine form of the adjective on the masculine.—With the exception of the examples just quoted, it was, then, the type of **bonum**, *bon*, **bonam**, *bonne*, which prevailed, and its triumph was so complete that thenceforth all adjectives of later formation, and adjectives borrowed either from ancient or foreign languages, were destined to be modelled on this type. Now, the atonic **a** in **bonam** being converted into an **e** mute, the feminine became *bone*, *bonne*; and, the atonic **u** of **bonum** being dropped, the masculine became *bon* (§ 47); the fact that the feminine was thus distinguished from the mascu-

[1] A parallel may be drawn between *grand* and *fort*, which are feminine in certain proper nouns, and *real*, later *réal* (*royal*), in *Villeréal*.

line by a final e led to the belief, which history shows to be erroneous, that the feminine **was formed from the masculine by the addition of an e mute.**

The formation of the feminine in this way was not made without a more or less considerable apparent change of the final consonant of the masculine form. We say apparent, because in reality, in most cases, it is in the feminine that the form of the radical has been preserved; the masculine, on the contrary, by the loss of the Latin termination, was reduced to the simple radical, and thus ended with a consonant which underwent those phonetic changes which affected the final consonants generally in French (§§ 64 and 100). Thus, in the French feminine *neuve*, the **v** of the Latin feminine **nǫvam** is preserved intact; in the masculine **nǫvum**, on the contrary, the termination **-um** being lost, the **v** became final and was changed into **f**. It is then a mistake to say that the masculine *neuf* makes its feminine irregularly by changing the final **f** of the masculine into **v**. It is more correct to say that it is the final consonant of the masculine which has suffered change.

This aspect of the question should never be forgotten in studying the theory of the formation of the feminine of adjectives. In many cases it is the feminine which is regular, and the masculine which is irregular.

183. ADJECTIVES ENDING IN E MUTE IN THE MASCULINE.—Before discussing the gender of adjectives generally, it will be best to dispose of a certain number of adjectives of which, for various reasons, the masculine as well as the feminine ends in **e** mute:

(i) Adjectives like *aigre*, *faible*, *pauvre*, *tendre*, &c., and all adjectives in **-able**, in which the final **e** served as a 'supporting vowel' (§ 60) for a preceding consonant-group;

(ii) Adjectives of which the masculine form was re-

modelled in Old French from the feminine, owing to the fact that the two forms presented too marked a difference.

Thus the Latin masculine **firmum** originally gave the French masculine *ferm, fer,* whilst the Latin feminine **firmam** gave *ferme*; **largum** gave *larc,* and **largam,** *large*: at an early period, *fer* and *larc* were replaced by *ferme* and *large.* Similarly the feminine forms *chauve, juste, louche, moite, pâle, roide, triste, vide,* have replaced the masculine old forms *chauf, juz, lois, moit, pal, roit, trist,* and *vit.*

(iii) The numerous adjectives in **-ile,** of learned formation, borrowed from Latin at various periods in the history of the language: *fertile, stérile, utile,* &c. In Middle French some hesitation was felt with regard to the terminations to be given to these adjectives: we find the masculine forms: *steril, util,* &c. A survival of these latter forms is to be found in the modern adjectives *puéril, -ile,* and *vil, -ile.*

184. DISTURBING ACTION OF CERTAIN ORTHOGRAPHIC IRREGULARITIES ON THE SPELLING OF FEMININE FORMS.—We now come to the general theory of the formation of the feminine.

According to the general rule **the feminine adjective is formed from the masculine by adding an e mute to the masculine**: *gris, grise; délicat, délicate; poli, polie.*

This general rule is subject to numerous exceptions due either to the **peculiarities of French orthography** or to **phonetic reasons.**

The peculiarities of the present system of French orthography require in certain cases the modification in writing of the final consonant before the e of the feminine in order to keep the sound of this consonant identical with that in the masculine form; thus:

The feminine of *ammoniac* is *ammoniaque*
" *caduc* " *caduque*
" *turc* " *turque*

If it were not for this change in spelling we should have: *ammoniace, caduce, turce* (pron. **ammonias'**, **cadüs'**, **türs'**).

The feminines of *grec* and *public* were formed in Middle French by adding **-que** to the masculine, the final **c** of the masculine being, however, sometimes preserved, sometimes omitted: *grecque, publicque*; *greque, publique*. The present feminines *grecque* and *publique* show both of these two modes of formation. We find analogous changes in *franc, franque* (see note 3, p. 277); *long, longue* (pron. **frã**, **frãk'**; **lõ**, **lõg'**), where the pronunciation and spelling of the feminine forms are due to the earlier pronunciation of the masculines, when the **c** and **g** were sounded.

It is also for orthographic reasons that the feminines *exiguë, contiguë, aiguë*, have a diaeresis over the **e**[1]; that in the feminines of adjectives ending in **-el** (*bel, nouvel, réel*) the **l** is doubled, the double **l** keeping the sound of the **e** open; and that in the feminines of adjectives ending with an **l** *mouillée* the **l** is doubled in the feminine, because between two vowels the **l mouillée** is noted by **ll**: *gentil, gentille*; *vermeil, vermeille*.

The purely orthographical rules for the formation of the feminine, although they affect a great number of adjectives of various forms, are of small importance.

185. DIFFERENCES IN THE DISTURBING ACTION OF PHONETIC LAWS ACCORDING AS THE ADJECTIVE ENDS WITH A LABIAL, DENTAL, PALATAL, NASAL, OR LIQUID, OR A VOWEL. The rules founded on the application of phonetic laws are more important than those just dealt with. We shall classify adjectives according to the final sound of the masculine form.

A. Adjectives ending with a **labial.**

The masculine ends with an **f** in *bref, neuf*, &c., in conformity with phonetic law, according to which the Latin **v** was changed into **f** when it became a final (§ 64, 2). The

[1] [To avoid the pronunciations *exig'*, *contig'*, *aig'*.]

etymological **v** remains intact in the feminine (§ 63): **nǫvam**, *neuve*, **vịvam**, *vive*; but we have in the masculine **nǫvum**, *neuf*, **vịvum**, *vif*, like **bǫvem**, *bœuf*, &c.

In *bref*, *brève*, *grief*, *grève*, a grave accent is placed over the **e** so as to note by this orthographic device that the sound of the **e** remains open. In Middle French these feminines were written *brefve*, *griefve*, *neufve*, *vifve*, to render the relation between the feminine and the masculine more visible.

B. Adjectives ending with a **dental.**

(i) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **d.**

In Old French the **d** was changed into **t** when it became final (§ 64, 2); it was left unchanged before the **e** of the feminine:

frịgidum, frịgdum, O. F. *froit* fem. *froide*

Similarly **grạndem** gave *grant*, which later gave rise to the feminine *grande*.

The **t** has disappeared in pronunciation, except before a word beginning with a vowel: *un grand homme*, *un froid hiver*, are pronounced *un grant homme*, *un froit hiver*. In modern spelling the etymological **d** has been reintroduced to make an apparent, if not a real, agreement of form between the masculine and feminine. In *vert*, *verte* (formerly *verde*), on the contrary, the feminine has been modelled on the masculine both in pronunciation and spelling.

(ii) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **t.**

This **t** has become mute in the masculine in Modern French. It is preserved in the feminine: *délicate*, *mate*, *distraite*, *petite*, *bigote*, *dévote*, *brute*, *toute*, *prête*.

The greater number of adjectives in **-et**, *muet*, &c., and the two adjectives *sot*, *vieillot*, must be considered separately. In the feminine the **t** of these adjectives is now doubled: *muette*, &c., *sotte*, *vieillotte*; this is done to preserve the open sound of the **e** in the case of the adjectives in **-et**; in the case of *sotte*, *vieillotte*, the spelling is not justified. *Discret*, *indiscret*, *secret*, *concret*, *complet*,

incomplet, inquiet, replet, alone possess feminine forms in **-ète**, in accordance with a rule possessing no weight and resulting from the wish to conform to the Latin spelling (**discreta, indiscreta, secreta,** &c.). Until the end of the last century the spellings *muette* and *discrette* were used as well as *muète, discrète.* It would be preferable to return to either one or the other of these formations, and to note the open sound of the **e** either by the accent, or else by the double **t**, in all cases alike.

(iii) Adjectives ending in **s** or **x**.

The final **s** or **x** is not now pronounced in the masculine. Originally the **s** or **x** had different phonetic values in different cases.

(*a*) It represented a single **s**, which in the feminine, being placed between two vowels, must have been a sonant **s** in French (§ 63):

ras, rase (Lat. **rasus, rasa**).
courtois, courtoise (Lat. **curtensis**).
français, française (Lat. **francensis**).
gris, grise (Old High German **greis**).
douloureux, douloureuse (Lat. **dolorosus, dolorosa**).
jaloux, jalouse (Lat. **zelosus, zelosa**).

(*b*) It represented an **s** preceded by another **s**, and was therefore phonetically a surd **s** (§ 66):

bas, basse (Lat. **bassus, bassa**).
las, lasse (Lat. **lassus, lassa**).
épais, épaisse (O. F. *espes* and *espois,* fem. *espesse* and *espoisse*; *Lat.* **spissus, spissa**).
gros, grosse (Pop. Lat. **grossus, grossa**; Old High German, **gross**).
roux, rousse (Lat. **russus, russa**).
exprès, expresse (Lat. **expressus, expressa**).
confès, confesse[1] (Lat. **confessus, confessa**).
faux, fausse (O. F. *fals, false*; Lat. **falsus, falsa**).

[1] Obsolete; a person who has made confession.

(*c*) In some adjectives the surd sibilant now noted by **ss** or **ç**, or **c**, is the reduced form of an earlier sound **ts** (§ 73).

coulis, coulisse[1] (O. F. *coleïs, coleïs, coleïce*; Lat. **colatĭcius, colatĭcia**).

mĕtis, mĕtisse (*half-breed*) (O. F. *mestiz, mestice;* Lat. **mixtĭcius, mixtĭcia**).

tiers, tierce (O. F. *tierz, tierce*; Lat. **tĕrtius, tĕrtia**).

The participles *absous, dissous,* from *absoudre, dissoudre,* give the feminine forms *absoute, dissoute.* The feminines represent the Pop. Lat. nominatives **absŏluta, absŏlta**; **dissŏluta, dissŏlta.** The masculines represent the nominatives **absŏlutus, absŏltus**; **dissŏlutus, dissŏltus** (§ 146). The Latin masculine accusatives would have given according to phonetic rule[2] *absout, dissout.* (See p. 372.)

Préfix, préfixe, is a word borrowed from the Latin **praefixus, praefixa,** according to the learned formation. The **x** is pronounced in the masculine. It is to be regretted that the analogy with the simple word *fixe* (also of learned formation), which represents the Latin **fixus, fixa,** has not been followed in the spelling of the word.

C. Adjectives ending with a **palatal** in the masculine.

This palatal is now in some cases mute: *franc, long*; if it was originally a **g** it became surd, i. e. **k**, in Old French, and the sound was noted by a **c** (§ 69): **lŏngum,** *lonc*; **lărgum,** *larc.*

In the feminine the Latin **c** before **a** was changed into **che** (§ 73).

In the feminine the Latin **g** before **a** was changed into **ge** (§ 89).

Thus we have:

frăncum, *franc*; **frăncam,** *franche*[3].

[1] *Coulis* is only used in the expression *vent-coulis* = *draught. Coulisse* is only used as a substantive.

[2] Nom. *absolt-e* = *absolz, absols, absous*; Acc. *absolt* = *absout.*

[3] The feminine *franque* (= *Frankish*) is of later formation and is taken

frịscum, *fresc, fres,* Mod. F. *frais*; **frịscam**, *fresche, fraische,* Mod. F. *fraîche.*

sịccum, *sec*; **sịccam**, *sèche.*

lạrgum, *larc,* Mod. F. *large*; **lạrgam**, *large.*

lọngum, *lonc,* Mod. F. *long*; **lọngam**, *longe,* Mod. F. *longue.*

D. Adjectives ending with a **nasal.**

In adjectives of early formation the **n** was doubled in the feminine form, because the first of the two consecutive **n**'s only served to show the nasal pronunciation which the vowel had at the time:

bon, bonne, were pronounced *bõ, bõ-ne.*

paysan, paysanne, were pronounced *paysã, paysã-ne.*

ancien, ancienne, were pronounced *anciẽ, anciẽ-ne.*

In modern times the vowel has lost its nasalization and has become a pure vowel in the feminine: *bonne, paysanne, ancienne,* are pronounced *bòn', paysàn', ancièn'*; but the first of the two **n**'s has been preserved in spelling, although there is no longer any reason for it.

In *persan, persane, anglican, anglicane,* which are of modern formation, the spelling is, on the other hand, in better agreement with the pronunciation.

The same agreement between the spelling and pronunciation exists in the case of adjectives in **-ain, -ein, -in**: *fin, fine*; *vain, vaine*; *plein, pleine,* &c. The nasal of the masculine in these adjectives is of relatively recent date (§ 118).

When the final is an **n** *mouillee,* as in *bénin, bénigne* (**benịgnus, benịgna**), *malin, maligne* (**malịgnus, malịgna**), the **ñ** (represented by **gn**), which is preserved in the feminine, disappears in the masculine, because the final **n** *mouillée* has disappeared from French pronunciation since the end of the Middle Ages (§ 104).

from *Franc,* the name of the people; as in *la nation franque, la langue franque.*

Compare *je crains* and *craignant*
" *besoin* " *besoigneux*
" *loin* " *éloigné*[1]

E. Adjectives ending with a liquid.

(i) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **r**:

The **r** is in most cases pronounced in the masculine. Adjectives ending with an **r** therefore generally form their feminines regularly: *claire, obscure, noire, majeure, mineure, antérieure, postérieure, ultérieure, inférieure, supérieure,* &c., being formed from *clair, obscur,* &c.

Certain names of agents, which may be used as adjectives, and which are of popular formation, form their feminines by changing **-eur** into **-euse**; others, of learned formation, in **-teur**, give feminines in **-trice**, from the Latin feminine -tr̥icem (§ 164, v and vi).

We must notice the adjectives in **-er, -ier.** The **e** was formerly pronounced as an open **è**, and the **r** as the final consonant. The pronunciation of the masculine was thus only distinguished from that of the feminine because the latter still ended with an **e feminine,** which was then sounded.

In these adjectives, between the 16th and 18th century, the **r** came to be no longer pronounced in the masculine, and the open **è** was reduced to a close **é**: *étranger, léger, premier,* came to be pronounced *étrangé, légé, premié*; in the feminine the **e** has remained open, and bears a grave accent in spelling: *étrangère, légère, première* (Book I, §§ 111, 121).

There are only three adjectives, *amer, cher,* and *fier,* which have kept the old pronunciation.

(ii) Adjectives of which the final comes from a Latin **l**:

This **l** was, in French, either *simple* or *mouillée.*

In the case of the simple **l** the normal formation of the

[1] Observe that in the 16th century *-igne,* in the feminine, was reduced to *-ine*: *maline, bénine.* Cf. *maline* in La Fontaine, and *signet,* pronounced *sinet.*

feminine is found in most adjectives: *amicale, normale, civile, puérile, espagnole, seule, soûle.* But in the adjectives *fol, mol, nul,* the l is doubled owing to the influence of the Latin spelling (**fǫllam, mǫllem, nụllam**). Adjectives ending in **-el** have the l doubled in the feminine in order to keep the sound of the e open,—a mere rule of spelling: *réelle, belle, nouvelle, jumelle* (pron. *réèl', bèl', nouvèl', jumèl'*).

In the case of the l *mouillée,* this is always noted by **ll** before the e mute of the feminine: *gentille, vermeille, vieille.*

The above rules have nothing to do with phonetics; but the matter is different in the case of the change, in masculine adjectives, of **-el** into **-eau** in *bel, nouvel,* and the archaic *jumel*: *beau, nouveau, jumeau*; and of **-ol** into **-ou** in *fol, mol*: *fou, mou*; and of the changing of *vieil* into *vieux.* This change, analogous to that which we have noticed in the case of substantives (§ 167, iv), did not take place when the adjective was immediately followed by a masculine substantive beginning with a vowel and closely connected by the sense with the adjective: *un bel enfant, un nouvel évènement, c'est bel et bon, un fol amour, un mol édredon, un vieil avare.*

The adjective *jumel* has been lost because it was placed after the substantive.

Even in modern times there has been some hesitation in the use of *fol, fou,* and still more in the use of *vieil, vieux.* Owing to analogy with adjectives in **-eux, -euse,** there has been a special tendency to use the form *vieux* even before a vowel: *un vieux avare, un vieux arbre*[1].

F. Adjectives ending with a vowel.

Among the adjectives ending with a vowel we must notice *favori* and *coi* with their feminines *favorite* and *coite.*

[1] We are thus led to a use of the adjective which is the converse of that of Old French, in which *fol* and *vieil* were used even when the word following commenced with a consonant: *le fol jeune homme, le vieil chêne.* This practice was continued even down to the period of Middle French.

Favorite is the Italian **favorita**, which has replaced the older *favorie*, the feminine of *favori*, a participle of the old verb *favorir*. The masculine of this participle has alone survived.

The old feminine *coie*, from *coi*, has been replaced by the Picard feminine *coite*, without any known reason.

Certain adjectives have no feminine: *châtain*, *dispos*, *fat*, *grognon*, *partisan*, *résous*.

The adjective *hébreu*, when used with reference to things, has no feminine, and is replaced when necessary by *hébraïque*: *un livre hébreu*, *une traduction hébraïque*. As a noun denoting a person it has a feminine form *hébreue*: *une jeune Hébreue*.

The adjective *contumax* (sometimes written *contumace*), borrowed directly from the Latin *contumax*, is of both genders, and has a single form for the masculine and feminine.

III. Numbers.

186. General rule for the formation of the plural.—The plural of adjectives is formed in the same way as that of substantives, and for similar reasons. An **s** is added to the masculine and feminine singular to convert either into the plural.

187. Peculiarities of the plural of certain adjectives.—(i) When the masculine singular ends with a **sibilant** the masculine plural does not take an **s**: *des hommes gras*, *de faux témoignages*.

(ii) Adjectives in **-ant**, **-ent**, retain the final **t** in the masculine plural before the flexional **s**: *constant*, *constants*; *prudent*, *prudents*.

(iii) Adjectives in **-eau** take an **x** in the plural: *beau*, *beaux*; *nouveau*, *nouveaux*; *jumeau*, *jumeaux* (§ 170, ii).

Adjectives in **-eu** take an **s**: *des yeux bleus*. *Hébreu*,

however, which is more akin to a substantive than an adjective, gives *hébreux* in the plural: *les livres hébreux.*

(iv) The masculine plural of adjectives in **-al** is formed, in general, by changing **-al** into **-aux**: *amical, amicaux*; *brutal, brutaux*; *légal, légaux*; *oriental, orientaux* (§ 170, ii).

But to this general rule there are a considerable number of exceptions.

A certain number of adjectives in **-al** are hardly ever used in the masculine, e. g. the adjectives in the following phrases: *église collégiale, ligne diagonale, eau pluviale.* Consequently the plural in **-aux** is unknown. A very few others, which are little used, form their plurals in **-als**: *fatals, finals, glacials, pénals.*

Lastly, others, which are fairly numerous, are not used at all in the masculine plural: *astral, doctoral, idéal, naval, patronal, théâtral, transversal, virginal,* &c.

This irregular formation of the masculine plural of adjectives in **-al** is one of the difficulties of French grammar.

The formation of the plural in **-aux** being the only one in conformity with the tendency of the language, it cannot be too much encouraged. It is to be hoped that the custom of making the plural of adjectives in **-al** end in **-aux** may be adopted in all cases.

(v) The adjective *pénitentiel* or *pénitential,* not used in the singular, gives in the masculine plural *pénitentiaux*: *psaumes pénitentiaux*; and in the feminine plural *pénitentielles*: *œuvres pénitentielles.*

IV. Degrees of Comparison.

188. Degrees of comparison in latin.—Latin possessed special inflexions to mark the degrees of comparison, i. e. the comparative and superlative.

The comparative was formed by adding to the radical **-ior, -iorem,** for the nominative and accusative masculine

and feminine, **-ius** for the neuter: **sanct-us**, *holy*: **sanct-ior, sanct-iorem, sanct-ius**, *more holy*.

The superlative was formed by adding to the radical of the adjective the termination **-issimus** (nom. masc.), **-issima** (nom. fem.), **-issimum** (nom. neut.), and this termination served to express both the superlative relative and the superlative absolute: **sanct-issimus** = either *holiest* or *very holy*.

A very small number of Latin adjectives had no comparative and superlative, and the deficiency was supplied by means of adverbs placed before the positive: **magis** or **plus strenuus**, *more active*, **maxime** or **multum** or **valde strenuus**, *most active* or *very active*.

Following the practice of Popular Latin, French and the other Romance languages have extended the use of this analytical construction involving the use of adverbs. In French but very few Latin comparatives, and no Latin superlatives, have survived. We may say that French no longer possesses any degrees of comparison expressed by modifications of the positive form of the adjective.

189. THE COMPARATIVE IN FRENCH.—Of the two adverbs **magis** and **plus**, which were exceptionally used in Classical Latin to express the comparative, French has adopted **plus** for the same purpose: *plus grand, plus méchant*.

A certain number, however, of Latin comparatives passed into Old French, and some still exist in the language. Thus we find in the Middle Ages *halçor* (**altiǫrem**, Mod. F. *plus haut*), *bellezour* (**bellatiǫrem**, Mod. F. *plus beau*), *forçor* (**fortiǫrem**, Mod. F. *plus fort*), *graindre* and *greignor* (**grạndior, grandiǫrem**, Mod. F. *plus grand*), *nualz* (**nugạlius**, Mod. F. *pire*), and *sordeis, sordois* (**sordịdius**, Mod. F. *pire*). *Meilleur* (**meliǫrem**), *mieux* (**mẹlius**), *moindre* (**mịnor**), *moins* (**mịnus**), *pire* (**pẹjor**), *pis* (**pẹjus**), have survived. We must also add the substantives *maire* (**mạjor**), *sire* (**sẹnior**), and *seigneur* (**seni-**

ǫrem), the adjectives *majeur* (majǫrem, O. F. *maïeur*) and *mineur* (minǫrem, O. F. *meneur*), and the indefinite substantive *plusieurs* (*plusiǫres, § 142), which are derived from Latin comparatives.

Of the Latin forms the language has sometimes preserved the nominative, sometimes the accusative, these comparatives belonging to the imparisyllabic declension (§ 146). Thus *moindre, pire, maire,* and *sire* are former nominatives; *meilleur, mineur,* and *seigneur* are accusatives; *mieux* and *pis* correspond to Latin neuters. Old French possessed the complete declension:

	Masc. and Fem.
mǫlior	*mieldre*
meliǫrem	*meillor* (*meilleur* since 13th cent.)
	Neuter.
mǫlius	*miels* (*mieus, mieux*)

Similarly in Old French we find the corresponding forms: *moindre, meneur, moins*; *pire, peieur, pis.*

Thus the only adjectives and adverbs derived from Latin comparatives, and still used as comparatives, are *meilleur* and *mieux, moindre* and *moins, pire* and *pis.* And even at the present day *moindre* is tending to give way to *plus petit, pire* to *plus mauvais,* and *pis* to *plus mal.*

190. THE SUPERLATIVE IN FRENCH.—The superlative absolute was marked in Old French by the adverbs *assez, beaucoup, durement, fort, grandement, mout, par*[1], and already in most cases by *très* (Lat. trans), which from the sense of 'beyond' which it has in *trépasser*[2] took that of 'beyond all limits.' In Modern French *très* is still used most often to mark the superlative absolute, though *bien, extrêmement, fort,* &c., are also employed:

[1] *Par* (Lat. *per*) was indeed used as an adverb in Old French, in the sense of the modern *beaucoup*; compare the Latin *permagnus* (*very great*). See also Book III, § 294.

[2] [*to pass beyond,* and hence *to die.*]

très beau, bien beau, extrêmement beau, fort beau. Other adverbs are likewise used for this purpose in the popular speech: *rudement, joliment,* &c.

Of the superlative relative, which Latin treated as a superlative absolute, the Romance languages have made a kind of comparative, a determinate comparative (i. e. a comparative preceded by the definite article). The comparative was already used in Latin in the sense of the French superlative when referring to two objects: **validior manuum,** *la plus forte des deux mains*[1]. This conception of the superlative relative prevailed. In French the superlative relative has been formed by placing the definite article before the comparative: *plus fort,* **le** *plus fort*; *plus grand,* **le** *plus grand*; *meilleur,* **le** *meilleur*; *moindre,* **le** *moindre.* It will be seen in the Syntax (§ 376, B.) that, until the end of the 17th century, the relative superlative was not completely distinguished and separated from the comparative from which it was developed.

Scarcely any traces of the Latin superlative have been preserved in French. The termination **-ĭssimum** would, according to phonetic rule, have given in French *-esme* (§ 50). In Old French we find only two forms which are derived phonetically from Latin superlatives. These are *pesme* (Lat. **pĕssimum**), which corresponds to the comparative *pire,* and *mesme, même* (from **metipsimum,** § 142). The forms *hautisme, grandisme, seintisme,* which are met with occasionally, are of learned formation[2].

[1] [In English we render the Latin comparative by a comparative: *the stronger of the two hands.*]

[2] In the 16th century, imitation of the Italian led to the introduction of certain adjectives in *-issime,* corresponding to the Italian *-issimo,* in the sense of the absolute superlative: *généralissime, grandissime, sérénissime.* The words *rarissime, richissime,* &c., have been created in jest on this model. We must also notice the abortive attempt of Pelletier at the same period to revive the Latin comparatives in *-ior,* and superlatives in *-isme*: *doctieur, hardieur, doctime, hardime* (see Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's *Seizième Siècle en France,* p. 229).

CHAPTER II

ON THE PRONOUN[1]

191. The different kinds of pronouns.

I. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.—192. Personal pronouns. Division into two series. —193. Retention of the pronoun-declension. — 194. True personal pronouns. Pronoun of the first person.—195. Pronoun of the second person.—196. Reflexive pronoun of the third person. —197. Demonstrative personal pronoun of the third person. Substantive pronoun.—198. The impersonal pronoun *il*.—199. The adjective pronoun or article, *li* (O.F.), *lo* (O.F.), *le, la, les* [masc. and fem.].

II. POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS.—200. Possessive pronouns.—201. Possessive pronouns referring to a single possessor.—202. Possessive pronouns referring to more than one possessor.

III. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.—203. Demonstrative pronouns.—204. Remains of the Latin demonstrative pronouns.—205. Creation of new demonstrative pronouns in Gallo-Romanic.—206. Eccehoc (ço). —207. Declension of ecceiste (cist).—208. Ecceille (cil).

IV. RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.—209. Relative pronoun. —210. Interrogative pronoun.—211. The neuter relative and interrogative pronouns *quoi, que*.—212. The pronouns *quel* and *lequel*.

191. THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PRONOUNS.—Pronouns are words used either to denote or to qualify in special ways persons or things mentioned in speech, in their relation to the person speaking. The French pronouns, like those of other Romance languages, are derived from corresponding Latin pronouns, of which the forms and functions have been more or less modified. They are divided, according to their uses, into four classes:

(i) Personal pronouns.

(ii) Possessive pronouns.

(iii) Demonstrative pronouns.

(iv) Relative, conjunctive, and interrogative pronouns.

[1] See also p. 181.

They are *substantives* if they are used absolutely, and stand for the person or thing in question; *adjectives* if they only qualify or limit the meaning of a substantive.

Whether substantives or adjectives, they may be either *accented* or *atonic*, and in the latter case *proclitic* or *enclitic*. In Modern French, as a rule, substantive pronouns are accented and adjective pronouns are atonic.

I. Personal Pronouns.

192. PERSONAL PRONOUNS. DIVISION INTO TWO SERIES. —Personal pronouns are divided into two series. The first contains the pronouns of the first and second persons and the *reflexive* pronoun of the third: these are the true *personal* pronouns. The second series only includes the so-called pronoun of the third person, which is an old demonstrative that has been gradually transformed into a personal pronoun.

The pronouns of the first series, like the nouns, had a complete declension in Latin:

1st pers. Sing.	Nom.	**ego**	Plur.	**nos**
	Gen.	**mei**		**nostri**
	Dat.	**mihi**		**nobis**
	Acc.	**me**		**nos**
	Abl.	**me**		**nobis**
2nd pers. Sing.	Nom.	**tu**	Plur.	**vos**
	Gen.	**tui**		**vestri**
	Dat.	**tibi**		**vobis**
	Acc.	**te**		**vos**
	Abl.	**te**		**vobis**
3rd pers. reflexive Sing. and Plur.			Gen.	**sui**
			Dat.	**sibi**
			Acc.	**se**
			Abl.	**se**

In Gallo-Romanic the genitives **mei**, **tui**, **sui**, **nostri**,

vestri, the datives **mihi, tibi, sibi, nobis, vobis**, and the ablatives, which were identical in form either with the corresponding accusatives (**me, te, se**) or with the corresponding datives (**nobis, vobis**), were lost. These pronouns had thus in the Middle Ages only a subject case and an object case, the latter serving to denote both the direct and indirect object.

The pronouns of the second series, of which we shall give the Latin declension later (§ 197), had, besides the nominative case and the case for the direct object, a case for the indirect object (*lui, leur*).

193. Retention of the pronoun-declension.—The mediaeval declension of these pronouns has been preserved down to the present day. Whilst the substantives and adjectives have lost their nominatives, and now possess only one form to denote both subject and object, the personal pronouns have preserved the form for the subject as well as that for the object. We must examine the reason for this difference of treatment.

In Latin, the persons concerned in speech were sufficiently indicated by verbal inflexions, and it was not necessary to use personal pronouns to distinguish them. **Laboro** signified *I work*; **ludis**, *thou playest*. If the personal pronouns were expressed, they served to render the idea of the subject emphatic: **ego laboro, tu ludis**, signified '*I* work, *thou* playest.' Nominatives of personal pronouns were thus accented in Latin and had an *emphatic* value.

This emphatic value was preserved for some time in Old French; but from the end of the 12th century, when the verbal inflexions became disorganized and gradually obliterated, these inflexions became inadequate to distinguish the grammatical person; and consequently, in order to restore their precision of meaning to the verbal forms, the language had to make a more and more frequent use of the nominatives of personal pronouns.

But this increase in use led to a weakening of their emphasis, and pronouns which were originally accented gradually became atonic. In the 12th century we see nominatives of personal pronouns for the first time used in this new way. It required four centuries for this use to become finally established in the language. At the end of the 16th century the revolution was complete: the three persons were then definitively marked in the verb by the use of atonic nominative personal pronouns; and it was this new grammatical formation which prevented the loss of these nominatives.

If the distinction of the verbal forms by means of inflexion had subsisted down to the end of the 14th century, the nominative cases of pronouns would have shared the fate of the nominative cases of nouns, and disappeared.

Owing to the changes described, the language lost the emphatic use of these subject pronouns. This emphatic use was, however, so obviously advantageous, and so fully met a need of the language, that an effort was necessarily made to replace in some measure what had just been allowed to disappear. The pronouns possessed objective cases in two forms, the one atonic, the other accented (*me, moi*; *te, toi*; *le, lui*, &c.). The former emphatic nominative was replaced by the accented form of the accusative. From the 12th century we find such forms as: *moi qui lis, toi qui dis*, &c.[1]

Thus, on the one hand, the weakening of the verbal inflexions led to the change of the emphatic and accented nominative of the pronoun into an atonic nominative, of which the function was merely to mark the grammatical person of the verb; and this change saved it from oblivion[2]. On the other hand, the accented form of the accusative

[1] See Syntax, § 392.

[2] These pronouns have, however, in general remained accented in interrogative sentences such as *Penses-tu? Aime-t-il? Irons-nous? Voulez-vous? Que disent-ils?* (With regard to *aimé-je*, see § 219, 2.)

of the pronoun replaced the emphatic nominative, in the same way as the accusative of the noun had acquired the function of a nominative.

194. TRUE PERSONAL PRONOUNS (see § 192). PRONOUN OF THE FIRST PERSON.—(i) *Nominative Singular.*—The pronoun of the first person, in Classical Latin ĕgo, became, in consequence of the dropping of the medial **g**, **eo**, which led to the early French *ièo*[1]. In the group *ièo* the vowel **i** became a consonant and was transformed into **j**: *jèo, jeo,* a form which from the 11th century was reduced to *jo* or *jou*. In the 12th century this pronoun, becoming atonic, was weakened into *je,* and before a vowel into *j'*, and these forms have subsisted down to the present day.

Nevertheless, until the middle of the 16th century *je* was capable of bearing a *tempus forte,* and might be separated from the verb by words placed in apposition to it, by adjectives, adverbs, or incidental statements: *Je qui avais* . . . (Marot, ii, 51). *Je de ma part* (id. 106). *Je tout malade et privé de soulas* (Mod. F. *consolation*) (id. iii, 127). *Je, dist Picrochole, le prendray à mercy*[2] (Rab. i, 33). *Je pareillement quoy que sois hors d'effroy, ne suis toutes fois hors d'esmoy* (Rab. iii, prol.). We find also in Scarron (*Virgile travesti,* i, l. 1): *Je qui chantai jadis Typhon.* Of this free use of the pronoun there has remained a trace in the formal expression: *Je soussigné* (*I, the undersigned*). Except in the case of this archaism, *je* is now always an atonic pronoun which is joined with the verb following[3], and serves to denote the grammatical first person singular.

(ii) *Accusative Singular.*—The Latin pronoun was **mē**:

[1] In the *Oaths of Strasburg* we find the form *eo,* but it has been demonstrated that this should be pronounced *ièo.*

[2] In Mod. F.: *Il sera, dit Picrochole, à ma discrétion.*

[3] It can only be separated from it by other atonic words: *Je* ne *sais, Je* ne te le *donne pas.*

as an atonic it became *me*; as an accented word, *mei*, *moi*. In the Middle Ages the use of *me* and *moi*, respectively, depended chiefly on the exact emphasis to be laid on the pronoun: *moi* had an emphatic signification that *me* did not possess. *Il moi frappe* expressed more than *il me frappe*. In Modern French the use of *moi* and *me* respectively has been reduced to precise rules, and will be treated in the Syntax (§ 393).

(iii) *Nominative and Accusative Plural.*—In Popular Latin the atonic nominative **nōs**, and both the atonic and accented forms of the accusative **nōs**, were preserved. In Old French there was an accented form *nǫ́s* (usually written *nus* in the oldest texts) for the nominative. But towards the end of the 12th century this nominative *nǫ́s* became atonic, and then underwent the phonetic change of the Latin atonic **ō**: i. e. changed from **ǫ́** into **ou** (§ 57, Book I, p. 105): *nos* became *nous*, just as *voer* from **vōtare** became *vouer*. In the accusative the atonic form **nōs** was according to rule also changed into *nous* at the end of the Middle Ages. The accented form **nǫ́s** ought to have led up to *nǫ́us*, *nǫ́s*, and finally *neus* (§§ 51, 3 and 94). But, since of the three forms just given the two most in use were forms in **ou** (the form *nous* as nominative and as accusative), the form *neus* had no time to become established, and was replaced by the others. Hence, *nous* was used (1) as an atonic pronoun, for the subject (**nous** *aimons*); and both for the direct and the indirect object (*il* **nous** *écoute*, *il* **nous** *parle*); and (2) as an accented pronoun, both for the direct and the indirect object (*il nous aime*, **nous**; *il vient à* **nous**); for the object after an imperative (*écoute*-**nous**); and, finally, for the emphatic subject (**nous** *qui disons*; **nous**, *nous voulons*).

195. Pronoun of the second person.—(i) *Nominative Singular.*—The Latin **tū** became the accented pronoun *tu*, which, in the 12th century, tended to become atonic, but

was still used as an accented pronoun until the 16th century: *Tu, dist frere Jean, te damne comme un vieil diable*[1] (Rabelais, iv, 18); *O tu qui n'as lettres à ce duysantes*[2] (Marot, iii, 111). It was only after that period that *tu* became definitively an atonic pronoun inseparable from the verb following (tu *parles*[3]), and serving simply to denote the grammatical second person singular[4].

(ii) *Accusative Singular.*—The Latin atonic **tē** became the French *te*; the accented **tē** became the French *tei, toi.* The history of *te* and *toi* is exactly similar to that of *me* and *moi.*

(iii) *Nominative and Accusative Plural.*—From the Latin **vōs** first came *vos,* and then *vous,* of which the history is exactly similar to that of *nos* and *nous.*

196. Reflexive pronoun of the third person.—Just as **mē** gave the forms *me,* and *mei, moi* (§ 194, ii); and as **tē** gave *te,* and *tei, toi* (§ 195, ii); so **sē** gave *se* and *sei, soi,* of which the history is exactly similar to that of the pronouns of the first and second persons.

197. Demonstrative personal pronoun of the third person. Substantive pronoun.—In Latin there was no special personal pronoun for the third person; in order to express either a nominative of that person, or an objective referring to a word that was not the subject, some one or other of the demonstratives was used: **is, hic, iste, ille, ipse,** or **idem.** French, on the contrary, from its origin possessed a special form for the pronoun of the third person, namely *il,* derived from **ille,** which had been adopted in Gallo-Romanic to the exclusion of the other demonstratives.

[1] Mod. F.: *Toi, dit frère Jean, je te damne, &c.*

[2] Mod. F.: *O toi qui n'as de lettres ayant rapport* [*conduisantes*] *à ceci.*

[3] *Tu,* like *je,* can only be separated from the verb by atonic particles: *Tu* ne *fais rien*; *tu* ne le lui *diras pas.*

[4] From the 13th century, in popular French, *tu* was reduced to *t'* before a vowel: *Je ne sai que t'as en pensé* (*Romania,* xxii, p. 56); *t'ies de tel bien garnie* (Mod. F. *tu es de tel bien fourni*; ibid.).

This change of function, which converted a demonstrative into a personal pronoun, has not been so complete as to banish all traces of the primitive signification from the language. These appear in the article *le, la, les* (§ 199), which shows us the adjectival use of the demonstrative, and in the possessive *leur* (§ 202, II), which is really equivalent in Modern French to *de ceux, of those.*

(i) *Masculine Singular* (*Origin of* **il, lui, le,** *and* O.F. **li**). —In Classical Latin **ille** was declined as follows:

Nom. **ille**
Gen. **illīus**
Dat. **illi**
Acc. **illum**
Abl. **illo**

Each of these forms might be either accented or atonic.

They were first reduced in number in the popular usage of Northern Gaul by the loss of the genitive and ablative. Then the remaining cases were affected by the analogical action of the relative and interrogative pronoun **qui**, of which the declension in Popular Latin was:

Nom. **qui.**
Case of the indirect object, **cui.**
Case of the direct object, accented, **cui.**
Case of the direct object, atonic, **quem.**

This pronoun, being used as an interrogative, caused the demonstrative, which usually served as an answer, to take the same terminations; so that the desire to make the connexion between the two terms evident led to the remodelling of the declension of **ille.** Hence the following forms resulted:

Nom. **ḷlli.**
Case of the indirect object, accented, **illṇi**[1].

[1] The Latin dative **illi** remained as the atonic form of the indirect object case.

Case of the direct object, accented, **illṵi.**
Case of the direct object, atonic, **(il)lum.**

The nominative **ɨllī** became *il*[1].

The case of the indirect object **illṵi**, losing its atonic syllable, according to the ordinary rule, became *lui* in the demonstrative use. Similarly, the case of the direct object, accented, became *lui*; the case of the direct object, atonic, **(il)lum**, and then **lu**, became *lo*, and, later on, *le*. In the Middle Ages *je lui frappe* (in the sense of 'I strike *that* man,' or '*that* is the man whom I strike') and *je le frappe* were both used (§ 194, ii). Such was the usage in Old French.

Now the subject-case *il* gradually became atonic, and was reduced to being merely the mark of the third person of the verb. When an emphatic subject-pronoun was needed, the accented direct object case *il* was replaced by *lui*: *lui prétend*; *lui, il prétend* (*he* asserts) (Syntax, § 392).

For the indirect object, besides the accented form *lui* an atonic form *li* was used: *il lui parle*; *il li parle*. At the end of the Middle Ages the atonic pronoun *li* disappeared from general use; it was replaced by *lui*, which came to be used as an atonic form: *il lui parle*.

For the direct object, *lui* has been preserved as an accented form, but the construction *je le vois, lui*, has replaced the mediaeval *je lui vois*; *le* has remained as the atonic form: *je le vois*. We see thus how the modern usage was established.

(ii) *Masculine Plural* (*Origin of* **ils, leur, eux, les**).—The Classical Latin forms were:

Nom. **illi**
Gen. **illorum**

[1] It is a law of French phonetics that when the accented vowel in Latin was a short stopped *i* it became in general an *é*. Thus the plural *illos* gave the O. F. *els*. But when the word ended with a long *i*, as in *illī*, the accented vowel remained an *i* in French (Book I, § 50, note).

Dat. **illis**
Acc. **illos**
Abl. **illis**

In the Popular Latin of Gaul only **ɨllī**, **illōrum**, and **ɨllōs** were preserved.

Ɨ̆llī became, in Old French, *il*. The nominative plural was thus identical in form with the nominative singular. In the 14th century, when the declension of the substantives was lost, and it became customary to denote the plural nouns by adding an **s**, the plural *il* became *ils* and was thus distinguished from the singular *il*.

The genitive **illōrum** lost its initial atonic syllable **il** and became **loru**, then **lor**, and later **leur**. This genitive, which has preserved its original meaning in the possessive use, *leur maison* (= the house *of them*), acquired the value of a dative as a personal pronoun: *il leur parle* (= he speaks *to them*). It thus corresponds to the dative singular *lui*. It was originally accented: this is why *lor* was changed into *leur* (§§ 51, 3 and 94). But later on, like *lui*, when used as a dative it became atonic, as in *il leur parle*. (Cp. p. 306.)

The accented accusative **ɨllos** first gave *els*, and later on *eus*, *eux*, owing to the transformation of the **l** into a vowel (§ 107); the atonic accusative became (**il**)**los**, which gave *les*. *Eux* was used to denote the emphatic object, whether direct or prepositional: *je les vois*, *eux* (I see *them*); *c'est à eux que je parle* (it is to *them* that I speak); and, when the nominative plural *il* became atonic, *eux* also replaced *il* as the accented nominative.

(iii) *Feminine Singular and Plural* (*Origin of* **elle**, **la**, **lei** (O.F.), **li** (O.F.), **elles**, **les**).—The Classical Latin forms were:

Nom.	Sing.	**illă**	Plur.	**illae**
Gen.	„	**illīus**	„	**illarum**
Dat.	„	**illi**	„	**illis**
Acc.	„	**illam**	„	**illas**
Abl.	„	**illā**	„	**illis**

In Popular Latin the ablative was lost; and the accusative, in addition to its own function, acquired that of the nominative. The declension was then reduced to the following forms:

Nom. and Acc.	Sing.	**illam**	Pl.	**illas**
Gen.	„	**illīus**	„	**illarum**
Dat.	„	**illi**	„	**illis**

In the singular, **illam**, accented, gave *elle* (earlier *ele*), used first as the accented nominative, then also as the atonic nominative. *Elle vient* at first meant '*she* comes'; to express the same meaning in Modern French the word *elle* is repeated after the verb, with stress: *elle vient, elle.* *Elle* was also used to denote the emphatic object whether direct or prepositional: *je la vois, elle* (I see *her*); *je parle à elle* (it is to *her* that I speak). When atonic, **illam** became (**il**)**la**(**m**), i.e. *la*, the atonic form of the direct object, used, for instance, in *je la vois.*

The genitive **illius** was lost in Northern Gaul.

The dative **illi** was replaced as an accented form by the accented form **illae, illei**, which gave *lei*, whilst the original **illi**, which gave *li*, survived (like the masculine dative) as an atonic form. Thus Old French possessed an accented form *lei* and an atonic form *li* for the indirect object. *Lei* and *li* were both lost at the end of the Middle Ages. They were both replaced, from the 14th century onwards, by the atonic form of the masculine, *lui*, which now became of both genders: *je lui parle* may mean *I speak to him* or *to her.*

In the plural, **illas** as an accented form became *elles*, and this was used first for the accented subject case, and later on also for the accented object case and for the indirect object case: *elles viennent*; *elles viennent, elles* (nom. accented); *je les vois, elles* (accusative accented); *je vais à elles* (prepositional accusative). As an atonic form it became (**il**)**las, las**, and then *les* (identical in form with the

masculine *les* from (il)**los**), which is used in French as the direct object: *je les vois.* The indirect object is denoted by the masculine *leur* (from **illorum**), which, like *lui* in the singular, has become of both genders: *je leur parle, à elles.*

(iv) To sum up, the accented subject cases of both genders and numbers of the demonstrative personal pronoun became atonic at the end of the period of Middle French and have since served merely to mark the verbal inflexions (*il, ils*; *elle, elles*). For the emphatic use of the subject and that of the direct or indirect object the accented forms of the accusative (*lui, eux*; *elle, elles*) are used. The forms for the atonic direct object are, in conformity with their Latin etymology, *le, les*; *la, les.* To represent the singular indirect object, *lui,* the accented masculine singular dative in Old French became atonic, and also replaced its corresponding feminine *lei,* which was lost at the end of the Middle Ages. Finally *leur* came to serve as the indirect object for both genders in the plural.

We must notice the loss of the syllable il- everywhere when either (i) the whole word containing this syllable, or (ii) this syllable alone, was atonic. We see this in the following Latin and French forms: (i) (il)**lum**, *le*; (il)**lam**, *la*; (il)**los**, *les*; (il)**las**, *les*; or (ii) (il)**lui**, *lui*; (il)**lorum**, *leur.* As similar changes occurred in the other Romance languages, we must therefore conclude that their origin is to be found in Popular Latin.

198. THE IMPERSONAL PRONOUN **il.**—The pronoun *il,* used before impersonal verbs: *il pleut, il fait froid*; or before personal verbs to introduce a subject: *il viendra un homme* (*a man will come*), is a logical neuter, but not a grammatical neuter. It does not correspond in any way with **illud**, the neuter of **ille**, which would have given *el* in French. This logical neuter was almost unknown in Old French, in which it was hardly ever used except with the forms of *avoir* and *être*; it only began to come

into real use from the middle of the 12th century, that is from the date when the custom was adopted of expressing personal pronouns before the verb. From the time when *il vient, il débarque,* was used, it must have seemed hard to say *pleut, i a gens* (Mod. F. *il pleut, il y a des gens*). Yet as late as the 16th century the impersonal pronoun was frequently omitted, and the expressions *tant y a*[1], *tant s'en faut*[2], remind us of the old usage.

199. THE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN OR ARTICLE **li** (O.F.), **lo** (O.F.), **le, la, les** [masc. and fem.].—The **adjective pronoun** is what is called the **definite article.** Latin had no article, whilst Greek had already derived one from one of its demonstratives in the earliest period of its history with which we are acquainted. It was only during the Romanic period that Latin in its turn began to follow the same process as Greek. It was by the gradual weakening of the signification of the demonstrative **ille** that a definite article was created. As early as the 6th century the atonic forms of **ille** (see § 197, i) were used as articles. Hence the Old French articles:

Masc. Sing. Nom.	(il)li, *li*	Plur.	(il)li, *li*
,, Acc.	(il)lum, *lo, le*	,,	(il)los, *les*
Fem. Sing. Nom., Acc.	(il)lam, *la*	,,	(il)las, *les*

The nominative was lost at the end of the Middle Ages, and there remained only the accusative forms *lo* (later on *le*), *les*, and *la, les.*

Notes.—1. In form the article is the atonic demonstrative. Thus it is curious to find that the first syllable of the Popular Latin **illi** became the pronoun **il**, and the second the article **li.**

2. In sense the article was used to show that the sub-

[1] [*Tant y a = il y a tant = there is so much,* and, hence, *consequently.* A French equivalent is *par suite.*]

[2] [*= il s'en faut de tant = so much is wanting, far from it,* and, hence, *by no means.*]

stantive which follows it is taken in a determinate sense, and hence the article is itself a determinant. This demonstrative sense is still to be seen in Modern French. In the second stanza of the *Vie de Saint Alexis* we find—

> Al tens Noe et al tens Abraham
> Et al David . . .

'In the time of Noah . . . and in *that* of David' (*al* = *à* + *le*, see below). Now, at the present day we still have proper nouns denoting places, such as Villeneuve-**la**-Guyard, which is equivalent to 'Villeneuve, *that* of Guyard' (Book III, § 281, 2 *e*); **la** has here the full signification of the demonstrative **illam**.

3. In the singular, the vowel of the article may be elided before a word commencing with a vowel or **h** mute. From the earliest period of the language the elision was made in the case of the feminine singular article: *l'amor* for *la amor*; and in the accusative masculine singular: *l'ome* for *lo ome*. In the 11th century the elision began to be used in the case of the nominative masculine singular; *li arcevesques* and *l'arcevesques* were first used indiscriminately, and then *l'arcevesques* became the regular form. The elision in the case of the form *li* used as the nominative singular led to elision with *li* as the nominative plural.

4. The article was condensed with certain prepositions preceding it, *de*, *à*, *en*; i. e. it lost its vowel and combined with the preceding monosyllable. The contraction only took place with the masculine singular form *le*, and the masculine and feminine plural *les*. The feminine singular *la* never admitted of contraction in this way.

De + le = du. From the first, *de le* became *del*, which in the 12th century, owing to the transformation of the atonic *el* into a vowel, became *deu*, then *dou*, and, later, *du* (§ 107).

De + les = des. *De les* became *dels*, which as early as

the 10th century was reduced to *des*. If the word had kept its l until the 12th century, as in the singular *del*, we should have had the successive forms *dous* and *dus*.

A + le = au. *A le* became *al*, which at the end of the 12th century gave the form *au* (§ 106).

A + les = aux. *A les* became *als*, which was reduced, in the same way as *dels*, in the 10th century to *as*, the only form existing from the 10th to the 13th century. In the 13th century the effect of the extremely frequent termination *-als*, *-aux* (as in *chevals*, *chevaux*), led to the change of *as* into *aux*, which thus came to correspond in form with the singular *au*. A like assimilation could not occur in the case of *du* and *des*, because there were no analogous terminations in the language to act on them.

En + le = O.F. eu, ou. En + les = es. *En le* became in the 10th century *enl* (*enl fou* = Mod. F. *dans le feu*: *Séquence de Sainte Eulalie*, line 19); in the 11th century *el*; in the 13th century *eu* and *ou*. *Ou* (= *in the*) became obsolete in the 16th century.

En les became first *enls* and then passed at once, in the commencement of the 10th century, into the simpler forms *els*, *es* (as *dels* passed into the form *des*).

In the 16th century *es*, like *ou*, became obsolete. *Es*[1] has only survived in certain formal expressions: *bachelier, &c.*, *es arts*, *es lettres*, *es sciences* (*bachelor*, &c., of *arts*, *letters*, *sciences*). In general usage *ou* and *es* have been replaced (1) in some cases by *au*, *aux*: *au sien* in *en mon nom et au sien* is equivalent to *en le sien*; *mettre aux fers* (*to put in irons*) is equivalent to the O.F. *mettre es fers* or *en les fers*; (2) in other cases by *dans le* or *dans les*[2]. See Book III, § 352, and Book IV, § 468.

We must notice that, as *ou* was not placed before a

[1] [Often written in Modern French *ès*.]

[2] [On *en*, *dans*, *dedans*, &c., see A. Darmesteter, *Reliques Scientifiques*, ii. 177.]

feminine singular (*en la circonstance*, not *ou circonstance*) or before a masculine noun commencing with a vowel (*en l'état, en l'honneur, de quelqu'un*; not *ou état*, &c.), the use of *en* followed by the feminine article, and by the masculine article with the vowel elided, has survived in Modern French.

III. Possessive Pronouns.

200. Possessive pronouns.—The French possessive pronoun shows two important peculiarities as compared with the Latin possessive: the remodelling of the 2nd and 3rd persons on the type of the 1st; and the creation of a possessive referring to more than one possessor, for the 3rd person.

The French possessives may be either atonic or accented.

They are divided into **possessives referring to a single possessor**: *un père aime* **ses** *enfants*; and into **possessives referring to more than one possessor**: *les pères aiment* **leurs** *enfants.*

201. Possessive pronouns referring to a single possessor.—The following were the Latin forms for the three persons:

Masc.	Nom. Sing.	**meus, tuus, suus**[1]	Plur.	**mei, tui, sui**	
,,	Acc. ,,	**meum, tuum, suum**	,,	**meos, suos**	**tuos,**
Fem.	Nom. Sing.	**mea, tua, sua**	Plur.	**meae, suae**	**tuae,**
,,	Acc. ,,	**meam, tuam, suam**	,,	**meas, suas**	**tuas,**

[1] **Suus, sua**, &c., referred in Latin only to the subject, whereas *son, sa*, &c., refer also to the object in French, replacing **ejus**, &c.; see Syntax, § 402, ii.

1. Atonic Forms.

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of* **mon, ton, son, mes, tes, ses**).—The declension in Old French, derived from the Latin forms, was as follows:

Nom. Sing.	*mes, tes, ses*	Plur.	*mi, ti, si*
,, Acc.	*mon, ton, son*	,,	*mes, tes, ses*

In the nominative singular, the atonic Latin forms **m(e)os, t(u)os, s(u)os**), gave *mes, tes, ses,* just as **(il)los** gave *les* (§ 197, ii). In the nominative plural, the atonic form **m(e)i** gave *mi,* and **tui, sui,** were soon remodelled on this type and gave *ti,si.* So that the nominative forms became in the singular *mes, tes, ses,* in the plural *mi, ti, si.*

The accusatives *mon, ton, son—mes, tes, ses,* have survived without any change to the present day, whilst the nominatives *mes, tes, ses—mi, ti, si,* were lost with all the other nominative forms at the end of the 14th century; they have left no trace in Modern French save the form *mes* in the word *messire,* a nominative of which the corresponding accusative was *monseigneur.*

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of* **ma, ta, sa, mes, tes, ses**).—We need only consider the accusative forms (§ 147) **meam, tuam, suam—meas, tuas, suas,** which as atonic forms became **mam, ma; tam, ta; sam, sa; mas, tas, sas:** whence the French forms, both old and modern, *ma, ta, sa —mes, tes, ses.* (Cf. *les* from **(il)las,** § 197, iii.)

Thus *mes, tes, ses,* are general forms which were derived independently from the masculine **meos, tuos, suos** (through the forms **mos, tos, sos**), and from the feminine **meas, tuas, suas** (through the forms **mas, tas, sas**).

The **a** of the article *la* was elided, and is still elided, before a feminine word beginning with a vowel: *l'âme.* In Old French the **a** of the feminine possessive was similarly elided: *m'ame, t'ame, s'ame,* were used for *ma âme,* &c. From the second half of the 12th century the elided form began to be replaced by *mon: mon âme,*

ton âme, son âme. This use of *mon, ton, son,* became the rule in the 14th century. The origin of this strange substitution is unknown. A trace of the Old French usage has come down to us in *m'amie,* corrupted since the 17th century into *ma mie;* and in *mamour,* which was jestingly turned into a barbarous plural in the phrase *faire des mamours*[1].

2. Accented Forms.

(i) *Accented masculine forms* (*Origin of* **mien, tien, sien, miens, tiens, siens**).—In Old French there existed a number of forms corresponding to the accented possessive forms in Latin. We give a table of the forms in use in the 11th century:

1st pers.	Nom.	Sing.	*miens*	Plur.	*mien*
„	Acc.	„	*mien*	„	*miens*
2nd pers.	Nom.	„	*tuens*	„	*tuen*
„	Acc.	„	*tuen*	„	*tuens*
3rd pers.	Nom.	„	*suens*	„	*suen*
„	Acc.	„	*suen*	„	*suens*

Since the 11th century, as we shall see, the language has tended to reduce these various forms in number, and to assimilate them. In each person the form of the accusative singular has served as a type for the rest. The nominatives singular and also the nominatives and accusatives plural[2] were formed on the type of *mien, tuen, suen,* which were regularly derived from **mḗum, tṹum, sṹum.** The language then went further in the way of simplification, and *tuen, suen,* were changed into *tien, sien,* on the type of *mien.* It is in this way that since the loss of the declension, i.e. of distinct forms for the nominative, the French accented masculine possessive pronouns have come to be *mien, tien, sien—miens, tiens, siens.*

[1] = to make demonstrations of affection towards any one.

[2] We find *meos* in the *Oaths of Strasburg,* and *suos* in the *Saint-Léger,* which correspond with the Latin nominatives singular **meus** and **suus.**

(ii) *Accented feminine forms* (*Origin of* **mienne, tienne, sienne**).—In Old French there were also a number of feminine forms corresponding phonetically to the Latin forms **mę̆am** (Popular Latin **mi̯am**) **tu̯am, su̯am.**

Sing. *meie*	Plur. *meies*
„ *teue*	„ *teues*
„ *seue*	„ *seues*

Meie, meies, became *moie, moies,* just as *mei, tei, sei,* became *moi, toi, soi* (§ 93). Then *teue, seue, teues, seues,* were replaced by *toie, soie, toies, soies,* modelled on the forms *moie, moies.* Finally, as early as the 14th century *moie, toie, soie—moies, toies, soies,* gave way before new forms, which are still those of Modern French, *mienne, tienne, sienne—miennes, tiennes, siennes,* and which were modelled on the masculine singular *mien.*

202. Possessive pronouns referring to more than one possessor.—In Classical Latin the possessives of this kind were **noster, vester, suus.** In Popular Latin **vester** was changed into **voster**[1]. Moreover, in the Popular Latin of Gaul and Italy **suus** was lost. In Classical Latin the same form **suus** was used in the 3rd person, both for the possessive referring to a single, and for the possessive referring to more than one possessor: *Pater amat* **suos** *liberos* (the father loves *his* children); and *Patres amant* **suos** *liberos* (the fathers love *their* children). In both Spanish and Portuguese this single form has survived. In Italian and French, in which the two kinds of possessives are distinguished in the 1st and 2nd persons, a corresponding distinction has been made in the 3rd person, by taking from Latin the genitive of the demonstrative, **(il)loru(m),** for that referring to more than one possessor, and forming from it a new possessive, the Italian *loro,* the French *leur* (see § 197, ii). *Leur* serves for both genders in its possessive as well as in its dative use.

[1] *Voster* also came to be used in Classical Latin.

1. Atonic Forms.

(i) *Atonic masculine forms* (*Origin of* **notre, votre, nos, vos**).—The following table shows the Latin forms and their derivatives in Old French:

Nom. Sing.	**noster**, *nostres*	Plur.	**nostri**, *no*
Acc. ,,	**nostrum**, *nostre*	,,	**nostros**, *noz, nos*

The corresponding forms for **voster**, *vostre*, were similar.

The singular forms *nostres, nostre*, present no difficulties. In the plural, the accusative **nostros** changed into an abbreviated form differing from that of the singular, and was reduced to *nostrs, nosts, noz, nos*; and the nominative plural *no* was remodelled on the type of the accusative. Modern French has only preserved the forms of the accusative, *nostre, nos; vostre, vos*; with a slight modification of *nostre* and *vostre*. The **s** dropped before the **t** and gave *notre, votre*; and, the **o** not being accented, it became short: *nŏtre, vŏtre* (§ 102).

(ii) *Atonic feminine forms* (*Origin of* **notre, votre, nos, vos**).—The singular forms **nostram, vostram**, became similarly *nostre, vostre, notre, votre*, with a short **o**.

The plurals **nostras, vostras**, being atonic, also gave *noz, voz*, and finally *nos, vos*, by a series of reductions analogous to those of the masculine.

(iii) *Atonic forms of both genders* (*Origin of* **leur, leurs**).—On these forms, now exclusively atonic, see under the section on accented forms immediately below.

2. Accented Forms.

Accented masculine and feminine forms (*Origin of* **le nôtre, le vôtre, leur, mien, tien, sien**, &c.).—We may pass over the lost nominative forms. We find that the accusatives **nostrum, vostrum; nostram, vostram; nostros, vostros; nostras, vostras**, developed according to rule into *nostre, vostre, nostres, vostres*, which, with the loss of the final **s** and the lengthening of the accented **o**, became *nôtre*,

vôtre, nôtres, vôtres (§ 102), pronounced *nŏtre, vŏtre.* Thus we have: *Voici vŏtre livre. Ce livre est le vŏtre.*

The use of the pronoun **suus, sua,** as a possessive referring to more than one possessor being lost, this was replaced for *both* genders by the masculine genitive **illorum,** which signified *of those, of them.* In conformity with its etymology it was originally not declined: *leur amis. Leur* was accented, and kept its significance as the genitive of a demonstrative pronoun, and consequently its emphasis, down to the time of Malherbe and even the early days of Racine, in whom we find *la leur chose,* which is equivalent to the Modern French *la chose à eux.* On the other hand we should have expected to find an atonic, adjectival, form *lour,* from the atonic **illorum**; but this seems never to have appeared, owing to the influence of *leur,* which as early as the 14th century came to be used not only as an emphatic but also as an atonic form. Since the 17th century *leur* has come to be an exclusively atonic form. For the emphatic possessive, referring to more than one possessor, either *le leur,* or else the periphrase *à eux,* is used: *ce livre est le leur*; or, *ce livre est à eux.* In the 14th century *leur* received the inflexion of number: *leur ami, leurs amis.* But the influence of analogy has not gone so far as to give *leur* the inflexion of gender: we say *leurs choses* and not *leures choses.*

Thus the possessives, whether referring to a single or to more than one possessor, were in Old French either atonic or accented. As atonics they have always had the function of adjectives and have remained adjectives.

Masc. Sing.	*mon, ton, son*	Plur.	*mes, tes, ses*
Fem. ,,	*ma, ta, sa*	,,	*mes, tes, ses*
Masc. and Fem.	*notre, votre, leur*	,,	*nos, vos, leurs*

They are what modern French grammarians call the *possessive adjectives.*

As accented pronouns they have become:

Masc. Sing.	*mien, tien, sien*	*nôtre, vôtre, leur*
Masc. Plur.	*miens, tiens, siens*	*nôtres, vôtres, leurs*
Fem. Sing.	*mienne, tienne, sienne*	*nôtre, vôtre, leur*
Fem. Plur.	*miennes, tiennes, siennes*	*nôtres, vôtres, leurs*

These accented forms were originally either adjectives or substantives. They are in Modern French substantives only, except in certain customary expressions, which have become somewhat archaic: *un mien ami, je suis tout vôtre*[1]. Save in the case of these archaisms they are always construed with the article: *le mien, le tien, le sien,* &c., *le nôtre, le vôtre,* &c.

They form what modern French grammarians call the *possessive pronouns.*

III. Demonstrative Pronouns.

203. Demonstrative pronouns.—We have seen that the name **demonstrative pronoun** is not a proper term (§ 123, II). All pronouns, indeed, are demonstratives. Those which we are about to study are especially used to denote the place of the persons or things of which we speak, either in space or time. If we could re-name the personal pronouns and possessive pronouns *personal demonstratives* and *possessive demonstratives,* we should have to call this third kind of pronouns the *locative and temporal demonstratives.*

204. Remains of the Latin demonstrative pronouns.—Latin possessed the following demonstratives: **hic, ille, iste, is, idem, ipse.** The two last-mentioned had a particular signification: the former signified *the same* (*person* or *thing*), in Modern French *le même*; the second *he himself,* or *self,* in Modern French *lui-même, même.*

Is and **idem** were lost and have left no traces in French. **Ipse** survived for some time in Old French under the form

[1] This expression is rarely used except in signing a letter.

of *eps, es*[1], but this soon gave way to *medesme*, later on *meesme*, now *même*, which, as we have already seen (§ 142), is derived from the Latin *metipsimum*, in which we find **ipse** included.

Hic, or rather its neuter **hoc**, is preserved in the Old French *o*, which is found in the compounds—(i) *oui*, formerly *oïl* (from *o* = **hoc** + **il(lud)**; see p. 383), and (ii) *avec*, formerly *avuec, avoc* (= *with this, near*; from *av* = **apud** + **hoc**).

Iste appears in the *Oaths of Strasburg* in the form *ist* (*D'ist di, from this day*) and was preserved in this form and also in that of *es* until the end of the 12th century[2].

Ille has been preserved as a personal pronoun of the third person (§ 197) and as an article (§ 199). Its genitive plural **illorum** has been preserved in *leur* (§§ 197, ii. and 202) as the indirect object case of the plural personal pronoun of the 3rd person, and as a possessive pronoun.

205. Creation of new demonstrative pronouns in Gallo-Romanic.—A new series of demonstrative pronouns was created in Gallo-Romanic by combining **iste, ille,** and **hoc** with the adverb **ecce** (*behold, here is, there is*), forming the words **ecceiste, ecceille,** and **eccehoc.** **Ecce** as an isolated word became the Old French adverb *eis, es*[3]. In combination with the demonstratives it became **iç-**. The resulting forms were *icist, icil, içe*. The initial **i** of these compound demonstratives was not, however, invariably used in Old French. In the oldest texts we already notice their absence, and we may say that the abridged forms *cist,*

[1] *Paschas furent in epse cel di.*
(*Saint-Léger*, ed. G. Paris, stanza 14.)
[Mod. F.: *Pâques furent en ce jour là même.*]
The phrase *enes le pas* (*at once, quickly*) was in constant use in the Middle Ages.

[2] We still find in Benoît de Sainte More, about 1160, 'la garison *d'iste cité*' (*Roman de Troie*, ed. Joly, l. 12835).

[3] This adverb was in constant use especially in the phrase *es vos*, in which the pronoun is an expletive: *es les vos adobes* (*les vous voilà adoubés*).

cil, ço, were far more used than the completer forms *icist, icil, iço.* We still find in the 17th century traces of this i in the forms *icelui, icelle, iceux, icelles,* now only used in legal terminology, which is always archaic.

206. ECCEHOC (*Origin of* O.F. **ço**, Mod. F. **ce**).—**Eccehoc** became *iço* and *ço*; *ço,* in its turn, became *ce,* passing through the form *çou* (cf. *jo, jou, je*).

We must not confound the neuter pronoun *ce,* coming from **eccehoc**, with the masculine pronoun *ce,* of which we shall investigate the origin in the following paragraph, and which is a weakened form of *icest, cest. Ce livre* comes from *cest livre* and represents the Latin **ecceistum** *librum*; *ce que je dis* represents the Latin **eccehoc** *quod dico.*

ECCEHAC (*Origin of* **çà**).—**Eccehac** similarly gave *çà* (adv.)

Now, in order to emphasize the demonstrative idea, from the 14th century the adverbs *ici* and *là* were placed after *ce,* whence the forms *ceci, cela.* In popular pronunciation *cela* was reduced in the 17th century to *ça*: *ça ira.* We must not confound this word *ça,* which is a contraction of *cela,* with the adverb *çà* just quoted, which is written with a grave accent precisely in order to distinguish it from the former word: *or çà, dis-moi* (*now, tell me*), represents the Latin **eccehac dic mihi.**

207. DECLENSION OF ECCEISTE (O.F. **cist**; *Origin of* **cet, ce, cette**).—The declension of this pronoun in Old French was as follows:

Masculine.

			Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing.	Nom.	**ecceiste**	(*i*)*cist*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecceistui**	(*i*)*cestui*	(*i*)*cesti*
	Direct Object case	**ecceistum**	(*i*)*cest*	
Plur.	Nom.	**ecceisti**	(*i*)*cist*	
	Direct Object case	**ecceistos**	(*i*)*ces*	

Feminine.

			Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing.	Nom.	**ecceistam**	(*i*)*ceste*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecceistei**	(*i*)*cestei*	(*i*)*cesti*
	Direct Object case	**ecceistam**	(*i*)*ceste*	
Plur.	Nom.	**ecceistas**	(*i*)*cestes*	(*i*)*cez*
	Direct Object case	**ecceistas**	(*i*)*cestes*	(*i*)*cez*

Notes.—1. In the 14th century the masculine nominatives singular and plural, *cist*, and the accented dative feminine *cestei*, disappeared. In the 15th century the atonic datives masculine and feminine, both of which had the form *cesti*, also dropped out of use. There remained, then, only the forms *cestui*, *cest*, *cez* (later *ces*), in the masculine, and *ceste*, *cestes*, *cez*, in the feminine. *Cestui* was used indifferently as dative and accusative, and survived until the beginning of the 17th century; Vaugelas banished it finally from the language, and, if it still appears in La Fontaine, La Bruyère, and even in Voltaire, it is as an archaism[1]. The feminine plural *cestes* did not outlive the 16th century.

2. In *cest*, *cestui*, *ceste*, *cestes*, the **s** before the **t** dropped from pronunciation in the Middle Ages, and was dropped in spelling in the 16th century. When the **t** was followed by a vowel, it was doubled: the forms *ceste*, *cestui*, *ceste*, became *cette*, *cettui*, *cette*.

3. We say in French *ce père*, but *cet astre*, *cet homme*. This weakening of *cest* into *ce* before a word beginning with a consonant or an **h** aspirate dates from the 12th century. The **t**, having ceased to be pronounced, was probably omitted in spelling owing to the influence of the neuter *ce* from **eccehoc** (§ 206); *ce signifie* (Mod. F. *cela*

[1] *Cestui*, or rather its atonic form *cesti*, has been preserved in the popular language in the compound *sti-là* (= *celui-là*). [It survives (with other relics of Norman French) in English legal terminology, in the expression 'a *cestui que* trust.']

signifie), &c., probably led to the replacement of the forms *ce(s)t père, ce(s)t maître,* by *ce père, ce maître.*

208. ECCEILLE (O.F. **cil**; *Origin of* **celui, ceux, celle, celles**).—The declension of *icil* or *cil* in Old French was identical with that of the personal pronoun *il*, except that *icil* possessed double forms, accented and atonic, for the indirect object, while, on the other hand, it had no atonic forms for the direct object corresponding to the masculines singular and plural *lo, le,* and the feminines singular and plural *la, les,* nor any form for the indirect object in the plural, masculine or feminine, corresponding to *lor* (see pp. 295, 297).

Masculine.

			Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing.	Nom.	**ecceilli**	(*i*)*cil*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecceillui**	(*i*)*celui*	(*i*)*celi*
	Direct Object case	**ecceillui**	(*i*)*celui*, (*i*)*cel*	
Plur.	Nom.	**ecceilli**	(*i*)*cil*	
	Direct Object case	**ecceillos**	(*i*)*cels*	

Feminine.

			Accented Form.	Atonic Form.
Sing.	Nom.	**ecceillam**	(*i*)*cele*	
	Indirect Object case	**ecceilleì**	(*i*)*celei*	(*i*)*celi*
	Direct Object case	**ecceillam**	(*i*)*cele*	
Plur.	Nom.	**ecceillas**	(*i*)*celles*	
	Direct Object case	**ecceillas**	(*i*)*celles*	

208 a. NOTES ON §§ 207 AND 208.—1. In the 14th century *cil* lost its accented dative feminine *celei*, and in the 15th century its atonic dative masculine *celi*. The nominative plural masculine *cil* also dropped in the 14th century; but the nominative singular masculine *cil* survived until the beginning of the 17th century, and La Bruyère laments its loss as that of the prettiest word in the French language. In Middle French, and in that of the 16th century, *cil* was

used for the accusative as well as the nominative, and even in the 16th century it was more used than *cel*, which was lost soon after. Thus it was only in the 17th century that the family of words derived from **ecceille** was finally constituted in its modern form: *celui, ceux* (see 2, *infra*), for the masculine, and *celle, celles*, for the feminine.

2. The l of *cels*, preceding a consonant, was changed in the 12th century into u: *cels* became *ceus*, and then *ceux* (§ 107).

3. *Cil* and *cist* in Old French were used as both substantive and adjective-pronouns: **Cil** *obliet les choses celestiennes et* **cist celes** *choses ke sunt sor tere* [Mod. F. *Celui-là oublie les choses célestes et celui-ci les choses qui sont sur terre*] (*Sermons de Saint Bernard*, ed. Foerster, 55, 19). *La ou* **cist** *furent* [Mod. F. *Là où ceux-ci furent*] (Rol., line 111). **Cist** *paien* [Mod. F. *Ces païens*] (id., line 1166). But from a very early period the language showed a tendency not to use certain cases of *cist* substantively; and in the 16th century the reduction of *cest, ce, ces*, to atonic forms, i. e. to adjective-pronouns, was an accomplished fact. *Cestui* (or *cettui*) and *cette* alone continued to be used as substantive-pronouns: *cettuy-ci* [Mod. F. *celui-ci*] *nous souhaitoit du mal* (Montaigne, i, 50); *cettes-ci* [Mod. F. *celles-ci*] (id., 19). All the forms of *cil*, on the contrary, continued to be used both as adjective- and as substantive-pronouns: *cil livre, celui temps* [Mod. F. *ce livre, ce temps*] (Rabelais, ii, 1); *celle fin* (Montaigne, iii, 13). The separation between the two groups only became definitive in the 17th century; *cettui* was dropped, and *cette* became henceforth an adjective-pronoun, like *cet, ce, ces*. The forms corresponding to *cil*, on the contrary, reduced to *celui, ceux, celle*, and *celles*, were henceforth only used as substantive-pronouns.

4. Let us consider the modern forms *celui-ci, celui-là*; *celle-ci, celle-là*; *ceux-ci, ceux-là*, the equivalents of the English *this, that, these*, and *those*. In Old French the uses of *cist* and of *cil* were clearly distinguished. The

cases of *cist* denoted objects that were near; those of *cil*, objects that were far: **Cestui** *cruciet avarice*, **celui** *enflammet luxure* (Mod. F. *L'avarice tourmente celui-ci, la luxure brûle celui-là*; *Quatre Livres des Rois*, p. 451). The etymological signification of each of these two groups in course of time becoming weaker, the language had recourse to a new process to distinguish the place of objects referred to: the adverb *ici* was conjoined to *cist*, and the adverb *là* to *cil*, e. g. **cest** *livre* **ici**, **cestui** *livre* **ici**; **celle** *maison* **là**; which led to the later forms *cette-ci, cestui-ci*; *celle-là, celui-là*. But a new confusion of sense soon arose, for the forms *cette-là, cestui-là*, and *celle-ci, celui-ci*[1], came also to be used. In Montaigne, in some instances, we find that the demonstratives have preserved their original signification, as in **Celuy là** *feroit bien, et* **cettuy ci** *vertueusement* [Mod. F. *Celui-là ferait bien et celui-ci vertueusement*] (ii, 12), but in others this signification has been lost: *J'ai mes autres parties viles, mais en* **cette là** [Mod. F. *celle-là*] *je pense estre singulier* (i, 9). *Cette* being reduced to an adjective-pronoun, and *cestui* being lost, the only substantive-pronouns remaining to denote proximity or distance were the forms derived from *cil*: *celui-ci, celui-là*; *ceux-ci, ceux-là*; *celle-ci, celle-là*; *celles-ci, celles-là*. Similarly, the cases of *cist*, now exclusively adjective-pronouns, are made to denote proximity or distance by means of the addition of the suffixes *-ci* or *-là* to the substantives qualified: *ce livre-ci*[2] (*this book*), *cette femme-là* (*that woman*).

IV. Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

209. Relative pronoun (*Origin of* **qui** *and* **que**).—The declension of the relative pronoun in Classical Latin

[1] [The adverbial suffixes *-ci*, *-là*, introduced at first only to emphasize the primitive distinction of place between the two demonstratives, thus came to take this whole function on themselves.]

[2] In the popular French *ce livre ici* (used for *ce livre-ci*) there seems to be some consciousness of the origin of the phrase.

was reduced in the Popular Latin of Gaul to the three following cases, which were indeclinable in gender and number:

Nom. accented, **qui.**
Indirect Object case, accented, **cui.**
Direct Object case, accented, **cui.**
Direct Object case, atonic, **quem.**

The nominative **qui** has become the French *qui.* From a very early period it was also used as an atonic form, and then weakened into *que: Fous est* **que** *dit quanque il pense* [Mod. F. *Fou est qui dit tout ce qu'il pense*] (*Roman de Renart,* ed. Martin, i, p. 287); *Chil* **que** *dedens estoient* [Mod. F. *Ceux qui étaient dedans*] (Froissart, iv, 163, 32). This weakened form occurs in isolated instances in the 16th century.

The form for the accented indirect object case and the direct object case, **cui**, remained as *cui* in Old French. We have **cui** *Dieu absolve* (Mod. F. *que Dieu absolve*), **cui** *cousin* and **cui** *fille* (Mod. F. *le cousin de qui, la fille de qui*). It was only in the 15th century that the word *cui* was finally replaced by *qui* and became henceforth identical in form with the nominative *qui.* It is this word *qui,* derived from the **object case**, which is used after prepositions: *à qui, pour qui*; or as the direct object of verbs: *prenez* **qui** *vous voudrez.* In the last instance it has no antecedent, and is a substantive-pronoun.

The atonic direct object case **quem** has become the French *que,* which is always used with an antecedent, and, consequently, as an adjective-pronoun.

210. Interrogative pronoun (*Origin of* **qui**).—The forms of the interrogative pronoun in Old French are the same as those of the relative pronoun: that is, *qui* for the nominative, *cui* and *que* for the direct and indirect objects. As in the case of the relative, *cui* was changed into *qui*; on the other hand, the accusative *que* was lost, so that

French now possesses only one form *qui* for the nominative, the direct object case, and the indirect object case: **qui** *est venu?* **qui** *demandez-vous?* *à* **qui** *désirez-vous parler?* (See also Syntax, § 416.)

211. THE NEUTER RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS **quoi, que.**—Latin possessed a neuter **quod** as a relative pronoun, and a neuter **quid** as an interrogative pronoun. **Quod** did not pass into French; **quid** gave the accented neuter *queid, quei, quoi,* and the atonic neuter *que,* which are used both for the relative and interrogative: *quoi qu'il arrive; il ne sait à quoi s'en tenir; que voulez-vous?*

212. THE PRONOUNS **quel** AND **lequel.**—The Latin **qualis,** in the sense 'of what kind, or nature,' has become the French *quel.* It has preserved its original signification as an indefinite pronoun: *de quelle nature qu'il soit* (*of whatever nature it may be*). As an interrogative it became synonymous with *qui* from the earliest period of the language: *quels d'els tuz?* (Mod. F. *lequel d'entre eux tous* or *qui d'entr'eux tous?*). As an interrogative substantive-pronoun, it is in Modern French preceded by the article *le;* as an interrogative adjective-pronoun it keeps its original form *quel*: *lequel avez-vous vu?* (*whom did you see?*); *quel homme avez-vous vu?* (*which man did you see?*). But in the 16th century *quel* was still used indifferently with *lequel* as a substantive-pronoun: *quelle des deux aurai-je?* (Rotrou, *Venceslas,* ii, 2, 207).

The use of *lequel* as an interrogative led in the 13th century to its being used as a relative. It was especially in the 15th and 16th centuries that its use spread, to the detriment of the other relative pronouns. Malherbe and Vaugelas endeavoured to proscribe the use of *lequel* as a relative. It has overcome their opposition, but the relative use of *lequel* is more restricted now than it was in Middle French.

CHAPTER III

ON THE VERB

SECTION I.—*Conjugation in general.*

I. VOICES.—213. Voices in Latin.—214. Voices in French.
II. MOODS AND TENSES.—215. Creation of the conditional in Gallo-Romanic.—216. Loss of certain Latin tenses.—217. New formation of past tenses.—218. New formation of the future and conditional.
III. PERSONS.—219. First person singular.—220.—Second person singular.—221. Third person singular.—222. First person plural.—223. Second person plural.—224. Third person plural.—225. Present participle and gerund.
IV. FORM OF THE RADICAL.—226. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the three present tenses.—227. On the part played by the *tempus forte* in the future and conditional.

THE **Verb** is the part of speech which was most profoundly modified in Gallo-Romanic. So much of the Latin conjugation has nevertheless been preserved as to make the origin of the Modern French conjugation clearly evident.

We shall in the first section of this chapter study the conjugation in general; in the second section we shall study the different kinds of conjugations.

We must first of all consider the **voices, moods, tenses,** and **persons** of verbs.

I. Voices.

213. VOICES IN LATIN.—Latin had two voices, the *active* and the *passive.* Moreover, an intermediate class of verbs existed which were passive in termination and active in meaning, and which were called *deponents.*

213 a. The Latin deponents in use in Popular Latin disappeared as deponents without leaving any traces (except in two participles); they became active verbs. Thus **admirari** became **admirare,** O.F. *amirer*; **sequi** became **sequere,** *suivre*; **mori** became **morire,** *mourir*; **nasci** became

nascere, *naître*. The participles *mort* and *né* (**mortuus, natus**) are almost the only representatives of the Latin deponent participles.

213 b. In the conjugation of the passive verbs, two modes of formation were used. (1) The following tenses were formed directly from the radical: in the indicative mood, the present, the imperfect, and future; in the imperative, the present; in the subjunctive, the present and imperfect; in the infinitive, the present; and, lastly, the past participles and future. (2) All the other tenses were formed by a combination of the past participle with the tenses of the verb **esse** (*to be*).

First Mode of Formation.

	Present.	Imperfect.	Past.	Future.
1 sing. Ind. . .	**cantor**	**cantabar**	—	**cantabor**
2 sing. Imper. .	**cantare**	—	—	—
1 sing. Subj. . .	**canter**	**cantarer**	—	—
Infinitive . . .	**cantari**	—	—	—
Participles . . .	—	—	**cantatus**	**cantandus**[1]

Second Mode of Formation.

		Perfect.
1 sing. Ind.	**cantatus**	**sum** / **fui**
2 sing. Imper.	**cantatus**	**esto**
1 sing. Subj.	**cantatus**	**sim** / **fuerim**
Infinitives	**cantatum**	**esse** / **fuisse**

		Pluperfect.		Future anterior.
1 sing. Ind. . . .	**cantatus**	**eram** / **fueram**	**cantatus**	**ero** / **fuero**
2 sing. Imper. . .		—		—
1 sing. Subj. . . .	**cantatus**	**essem** / **fuissem**		— / —

[1] [Generally called the *gerundive* by English writers.]

214. Voices in French.—Now, in Popular Latin the whole of the tenses depending on the first mode of formation were lost, and the language had to create new passive tenses by compounding the past participle with the verb *être*: *je suis chanté, j'étais chanté*, &c. [Cf. the English passive.]

We shall see in the Syntax (§ 433) the consequences of this new formation, which, being singularly imperfect, renders the Romance languages incapable of expressing the passive idea in many cases. In reality, there is no French *passive*: French possesses but one voice, the *active*, which we must now consider in detail.

II. Moods and Tenses.

215. Creation of the conditional in gallo-romanic.—Gallo-Romanic preserved the Latin moods: the *indicative, imperative, subjunctive, infinitive*, and *participle*. In addition, it created a new mood, the *conditional*.

216. Loss of certain latin tenses.—Of the Latin tenses the following have been preserved in French: (1) in the indicative, the *present* (**canto**, *je chante*), the *imperfect* (**cantabam**, *je chantais*), the *perfect* (**cantavi**, *je chantai*), the last losing the senses corresponding to the French perfect (*I have sung*) and 2nd pluperfect (*I had sung*), which it possessed in Latin conjointly with that of the preterite (*I sang*); (2) in the imperative, the *present*, the only tense (**canta**, *chante*); (3) in the subjunctive, the *present* (**cantem**, *que je chante*), and the *pluperfect*, with the meaning of the *imperfect* (**cantassem**, *que je chantasse*); (4) in the infinitive, the *present* (**cantare**, *chanter*). Besides the above, the following forms were preserved: the *active participle present* (**cantantem**, *chantant*), the *gerund* (**cantando**, abl. case, (*en*) *chantant*), the *perfect participle passive* (**cantatus**, *chanté*).

The following tenses were lost and left no substitute: the *future present* and *future perfect* of the *infinitive* (**canta-**

turum esse and **fuisse**), the *future participle* (**cantaturus**), the *supine* (**cantatum**).

The following tenses were replaced by other forms: the *imperfect* of the *subjunctive* (**cantarem**), of which the function was fulfilled by the pluperfect of the same mood (**cantassem**, [*que*] *je chantasse*); the *future indicative* (**cantabo**), replaced by a periphrase of the infinitive with the auxiliary *avoir* (**cantare-habeo**, *je chanterai*); a series of *past* tenses, viz. the *pluperfect* and *future perfect* of the *indicative*, the *perfect* and *pluperfect* of the *subjunctive*, the *perfect* of the *infinitive*, which have been replaced by periphrases formed by the combination of the past participle with simple tenses of the auxiliary *avoir*, or in some cases with those of the auxiliary *être*.

These combinations even led to the addition of some new tenses: the *perfect* (*j'ai chanté*) and the *2nd pluperfect* (*j'eus chanté*).

Finally two new tenses were created by means of a periphrasis of the auxiliary with (1) the infinitive, and with (2) the participle: the *present conditional* (*je chanterais*, I should sing) and the *past conditional* or future-past in the past (*j'aurais chanté*, I should have sung). These two tenses of the indicative mood are also tenses of a new mood, the conditional.

We thus find that the Latin verb suffered important losses, and that, to compensate for them, a still more important creation of new forms took place in Gallo-Romanic and French. As we see, these new forms were made in two ways: (1) past tenses were formed in Gallo-Romanic by combining the *past participle* with the auxiliaries; (2) a future and a conditional were formed by combining the *infinitive* with the auxiliary. We have now to examine these two kinds of combination.

217. New formation of past tenses.—By the combination of the past participle with the auxiliary **habere**, and

in certain intransitive verbs with the auxiliary **esse**, a new system of compound tenses was introduced into Gallo-Romanic, which exactly corresponded with the *simple* tenses in Latin.

In Latin the verb **habere** was already used freely with the perfect participle: **habeo scriptam epistolam,** = *I have a letter written,* or, in Modern French, *j'ai (là) écrite une lettre.* In Romanic this construction was developed and extended even to intransitive verbs, so that in the active conjugation in Romance languages there exists a double series of tenses, the *simple* and the *compound*:

Simple Tenses.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Present	*je chante* (**canto**)
Imperfect	*je chantais* (**cantabam**)
Preterite	*je chantai* (**cantavi**)
Future	*je chanterai* (**cantabo**)

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Present	*je chanterais* (new tense)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Present	*que je chante* (**cantem**)
Imperfect	*que je chantasse* (**cantassem**)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present	*chante* (**canta**)

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Present	*chanter* (**cantare**)

PARTICIPLES.

Present	*chantant* (**cantantem, cantando**)

Compound Tenses.

INDICATIVE MOOD.

Perfect	*j'ai chanté* (new tense)
1st Pluperfect . . .	*j'avais chanté* (**cantaveram**)
2nd Pluperfect . . .	*j'eus chanté* (new tense)
Future perfect . . .	*j'aurai chanté* (**cantavero**)

CONDITIONAL MOOD.

Past . . . . . *j'aurais chanté* (new tense)

SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

Perfect . . . . *que j'aie chanté* (**cantaverim**)
Pluperfect . . . *que j'eusse chanté* (**cantavissem**)

IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Perfect . . . . *aie chanté* (new tense)

INFINITIVE MOOD.

Perfect . . . . *avoir chanté* (**cantavisse**)

PARTICIPLES.

Perfect . . . . *ayant chanté* (new tense)

Thus, by means of this large series of compound tenses, French acq ired the power of expressing many important shades of meaning unattainable in the mother language. (See also the Syntax of the Verb, Book IV.)

218. NEW FORMATION OF THE FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL. —The terminations of the Latin future were different in the different conjugations [1st conjugation, **canta-bo**; 2nd, **debe-bo**; 3rd, **leg-am**; 4th, **audi-am**]. That was a first complexity. In addition, the 1 sing. of the future of the 3rd and 4th conjugations was identical in form with the 1 sing. of the present subjunctive of the same conjugations. Lastly, the weakening of certain sounds in pronunciation led to fresh confusion. Thus the 3 sing. future **cantabit** came to be pronounced **cantavit**, like the corresponding person of the perfect. Hence the popular language was forced to use periphrases, which led to the loss of the Latin future and became the origin of a new future.

In Roumanian the verb *will* was used with the infinitive [as in English]: the future *eu voiŭ face* corresponds word for word to the French *je veux faire*[1]. In the Roumansch

[1] In the eastern and southern provinces of France the Romanic future is often replaced, in popular usage, by the combination of *vouloir* with the

districts (see Book I, p. 7) the auxiliaries *to come* and *to go* are used, corresponding word for word to the French: *je viens faire, je vais faire.* In the other Romance tongues a combination of *habere* with the infinitive was adopted, e.g. *facere habeo* = *I have to do,* which has become the Modern French future [*je*] *ferai.* This last form is the one which concerns us. It implied originally two ideas: that of *obligation* and that of the *future.* The former of these two ideas was gradually lost, so that the periphrase came to express the idea of the future solely, and thus became precisely synonymous with the Latin future.

In the future of certain dialects of Sardinia the form derived from *habere* has remained distinct, and may precede the infinitive. Although the fusion of the auxiliary with the infinitive is elsewhere complete, in Old Spanish and in Modern Portuguese it is still permissible in certain cases to interpolate a pronoun between the infinitive and the termination representing the present of the Latin *habere.* In the oldest Provençal there are also some examples of the separation of these two constituents of the future. In French from the time of the *Oaths of Strasburg* (842 A. D.) the auxiliary and infinitive have been inseparable: *si salvarai eo* (Mod. F. *ainsi sauverai-je*); *avrai* (*aurai*); *prindrai* (*prendrai*).

A proof of this origin of the future is the complete agreement between the conjugation of the verbs derived in Romance languages from the Latin *habere* and the inflexions of the future in those languages. Thus in Italian we have: *ho* (*I have*) and *canter-ò* (*I will sing*); in Spanish: *he* and *cantar-é*; in French and Provençal: *ai* and *chanter-ai, cantar-ai.* In certain Italian dialects we find for 'I have' *aggio,* and for 'I will sing' *canter-aggio.*

infinitive: the physician declares that the patient *veut mourir demain,* where a Parisian would say *mourra demain.*

[The use of the English *will* is, of course, precisely similar, the difference between the auxiliary and emphatic use of *will* being rendered by difference in the place of the stress: *he will go out*; *he* WILL *go out.*]

The French *conditional* is formed from the infinitive and imperfect indicative of the verb *avoir*. Take the sentence: *Je crois qu'il partira demain.* Etymologically it is equivalent to: *Je crois qu'il a à partir demain, I think that he has to go to-morrow.* Take now the sentence: *Je croyais qu'il partirait hier.* It is evidently equivalent to: *Je croyais qu'il avait à partir hier, I thought that he had to go yesterday. Partirait* denotes an action that is future relatively to another, both actions being, however, past. *Partirait* is then, in its first sense, a future in the past. The *simple* future is expressed by the combination of the present of *avoir* with the infinitive; the future *in the past* by a similar combination of the imperfect of *avoir* with the infinitive, the infinitive expressing the idea of the future, the imperfect expressing that of the past.

Besides this sense, the tense in question expresses also the idea of a condition, the *conditional* idea. In *il partirait s'il le pouvait* (*he would go if he could*), *partirait* denotes a future action depending on a condition. This new idea no longer corresponds to that sense of the imperfect *avait* which we have just analysed; the imperfect here has a significance other than that which is habitually expressed by this tense. Latin had no *conditional* mood. It expressed the conditional idea either by the subjunctive or the indicative. It is a conditional that we have here in reality in the form of *avait.* If this second sense of *il partirait* had been developed by a process parallel to that which produced its first sense (and also the future), it would have come not from a form meaning 'he had to go,' but from a form meaning 'he would have to go[1].'

Thus were formed these two tenses which were originally compound and have now become simple, the future and conditional; they now possess corresponding compound tenses: *future perfect,* I shall have sung (*j'aurai chanté*); *conditional past,* I should or would have sung (*j'aurais chanté*).

[1] See Syntax (§ 452 II. iv.).

We must observe that in the combination of the infinitive with the present or imperfect of the auxiliary *avoir* the syllable **-av-** (Latin **-hab-**) was lost when it was not accented: *partirons, partirez,* stand for *partiravons, partiravez; partirais* stands for *partiravais,* &c.[1] This loss is not due to any phonetic action other than a need for simplification: the forms *partiravons, partiravez,* were too heavy and too long to persist[2].

III. Persons.

The three Latin persons of the singular and plural have been preserved in French. But the personal inflexion which forms the termination has been more or less modified under phonetic action or the influence of analogy, and the radical also, in certain determined cases, underwent changes which differed according to the position of the *tempus forte.*

219. First person singular.—1. Except in the first conjugation (*je chante, je chantai, chante*[3]), and in the form *ai* from *avoir,* the first persons of the present and the preterite (and also the second person of the imperative) now end with an **s**: *je dors, je pars, je rends*; *je dormis, je partis*; *vois, prends, bois.* This **s** originally existed only in verbs of which the corresponding first person in Latin ended with **-sco, -ceo,** or **-cio**: **cognosco,** *conois* (Mod. F. *connais,* from *connaître*); **cresco,** *creis* (Mod. F. *crois,* from

[1] The contraction is especially curious in the future and conditional of the verb *avoir: aurons, aurez,* are the contractions from *auravons, auravez,* i.e. for *haber-habemus, haber-habetis. Aurais* is a contraction from *auravais,* i.e. *haber-habebam,* &c.

[2] The examination in detail of the verbal forms that have resulted from this compound formation of the future and conditional will be resumed in § 227.

[3] [And in the verbs *offrir, souffrir, couvrir, cueillir,* and *saillir,* for which see p. 372.]

croître); pąsco, *pais* (Mod. F. *pais*, from *paître*); fącio, *faz*, plącco, *plaz*; tącco, *taz*[1].

Whence, then, comes this s? It has been asserted, and is still sometimes asserted, that it is due to the analogical action of the second person. But how could the second person have imposed its s on the first person, since from the 12th century this s was no longer pronounced before a following consonant? Besides, if this explanation were true, why should not there be an s in the first person of the present of the indicative in the first conjugation also? Why should not *je chantes* have resulted from the form *tu chantes*?

The historical study of the facts shows that the s is due originally to analogy with verbs in which this consonant forms part of the radical. It appears from the 12th century, first in *je suis*, modelled on the type of *je puis* (from the Lat. pǫssum); and its use increased gradually and became almost general in the 16th century. However, at that period (and even in the 17th century) poets still used the old and correct forms for the rhymed endings of their lines: *je voi, je doi, je croi, je vien, je tien*; *je parti, je fini, je reçu*; *vien, crain, tien, aperçoi*, &c., whilst in the middle of the lines they used the new analogical forms with the s, which agreed with the popular pronunciation. The following line from Racine: '*Je croi* tout, je vous *crois* invincible' (*Alexandre*, iv. 2), in which *croi* is spelt without an s before a consonant, and takes an s before a vowel, shows us

[1] And also in vądo, O. F. *vois* (Mod. F. *vais*); rǫgo, O. F. *ruis* (no Mod. F. form); trǫpo, O. F. *truis* (Mod. F. *trouve*); dǫno, O. F. *doins* (Mod. F. *donne*); pǫteo, *puis*. The *s* or *z* was also in Old French the termination of the 1st person of the present indicative in verbs of the first conjugation of which the corresponding Latin forms ended in -so, -tio, -cio: *os, pris, commenz, balanz* [Lat. *ąuso, *prętio, *cuminątio, bilącio].

The modern forms *fais, plais, tais* (from *faire, plaire, taire*), which correspond to the O. F. *faz, plaz, taz*, are not derived phonetically from these latter, but were created by analogy with the 2nd persons singular.

popular pronunciation in the very act of overcoming literary tradition. At the end of the 17th century the use of the s became general; the earlier forms are only to be found in the works of a few poets, in which they were employed occasionally for the sake of the rhyme. They had become absolute archaisms, used only by poetic licence.

2. The final e mute of the 1st person singular of the present indicative and of the present subjunctive of the 1st conjugation is, like the s in the verbs that we have just discussed, not primitive. The forms corresponding in Old French to **cạnto**, **cạntem**, were *je chant, que je chant,* not *je chante, que je chante.* The e was only put in where it was needed as a 'supporting vowel': *j'entre, je tremble,* &c. (§§ 47, 231).

Now, whenever the 1st person ended in the 16th century with an e mute, this e mute took the *tempus forte* and was changed into close é in the interrogative or exclamatory construction, in which the subject is placed after the verb: *chanté-je, puissé-je* (*do I sing? may I,* &c.), a truly barbarous deformation of the verbal termination. In Old French correct forms were used: *entre-jo, puisse-jo* (or with the form *gié* of the personal pronoun: *entre-gié, puisse-gié*); just as in the modern language we say *chantes-tu, puisses-tu.* The reduction of the personal pronoun to the atonic form *je* led to the forms *chạnte-je, puisse-je,* with the *tempus forte* on the radical of the verb, in the proparoxyton position, the pronoun being closely united with the verb. The accented syllable was thus followed by two consecutive atonics, a sound-sequence which is found intolerable in French (see § 46). Hence a displacement of the *tempus forte* ensued, and the atonic e of the final syllable of the verb was changed into an accented close é: *chanté-je, puissé-je.* In the 17th century the final e of *je* became mute, and in our own times the final close é of the verb has become open è. Hence the present forms are spelt *chanté-je, puissé-je,* but pronounced *chantèj', puissèj'.* In

the 17th century, under the influence of analogy, an attempt was made to extend this barbarous form to the verbs of the other conjugations and to use barbarisms stranger still. The forms *entendé-je, rompé-je, sorté-je,* were used instead of *entends-je, romps-je, sors-je,* &c. But this usage, condemned by Vaugelas, soon disappeared.

Moreover, among verbs not belonging to the first conjugation the use of the construction with the pronoun *je* placed after the verb became still more restricted, and even obsolete in the case of certain verbs with which it had once been employed. It is now seldom found except with a few verbs: *suis-je, dis-je, fais-je, dois-je*; there is a growing tendency to discard it in the verbs of conjugations other than the first: *veux-je, prétends-je, sens-je, dors-je*; and even with those of the first: *chanté-je,* &c. The construction is replaced by a heavy and disagreeable circumlocution: *est-ce que je chante, je veux,* &c.[1] (See Book IV, §§ 416, 417.)

220. Second person singular.—The second person ends in all tenses of all conjugations with an **s**, represented in certain cases by an **x**: *tu peux, tu veux* (§ 106). This sibilant final has become so characteristic of the second person that it has imposed itself on the preterite, in which, according to etymology, it should not occur, the Latin termination from which the French form is derived being **-sti**: for **cantasti** we find *chantas* instead of *chantast*; for **finisti**, *finis* instead of *finist*. The final **t** was probably only dropped, leaving the characteristic **s** as a final, because in all the other tenses the second person ended with an **s**.

In the present indicative and present subjunctive of the first conjugation the final **s** became silent from the 16th century. This is why in the poetry of this and a later period we find the last atonic syllable of the second person

[1] [Cf. the English circumlocution *Do I sing*, &c.]

in these tenses elided. It was even suppressed altogether by certain grammarians of the time.

221. THIRD PERSON SINGULAR.—In cases where the third person of verbs ends with a vowel, a t, called the *euphonic* t, is intercalated between the verb and the subject when the latter follows and is formed by one of the pronouns *il* or *elle*, or the indefinite substantive *on*: *aime-t-il, a-t-il, puisse-t-elle, a-t-on, dira-t-on.* It was thought for a long time that this t came from the primitive form of the 3 sing. of the verbs of the 1st conjugation. The Latin *cantat* was indeed represented in the 11th century by the French *chantet. Chante-t-on* would, according to this theory, stand for *cantat homo.* But this explanation is wrong, because the euphonic t is hardly to be found before the 16th century, whereas the t of *chantet*, &c., dropped at the end of the 11th century. As a matter of fact, the t is simply due to the influence of analogy with the 3rd persons singular of the present indicative in the three other conjugations: *il dit—dit-il*; *il reçoit—reçoit-il*; *il finit—finit-il*; and with the 3 sing. of the imperfect indicative and the 3 plur. of all tenses in all conjugations: *chantait-il, chantent-ils, chantaient-ils, chantèrent-ils, chanteront-ils*, &c. Thus in almost all interrogative or exclamatory clauses the verb ended with a t connected in sound with the subjects following: *ils, il*; *elles, elle.* Hence it was but a small step to extend the use of the t to those persons which did not possess it, and this was done during the second half of the period of Middle French: *aime-t-il, aima-t-on, aimera-t-elle.* When this construction became definitively established it led to the rejection of the euphonic use of *l'* (= *le*) with the substantive *on* (*l'on*) in such clauses; thus *dit-on, dira l'on*, became in the 17th century *dit-on, dira-t-on.* In familiar speech the use of this t has been extended to the verbal proposition with *voilà*[1]:

[1] [This is called a verbal proposition because *voila* = *voi(s) là*: *voici* = *voi(s) ici.*]

voilà-t-il, ne voilà-t-il pas. This turn of phrase has led to the creation of an interrogative or exclamatory particle *ti*, which was adopted in the 17th century in popular speech, is daily gaining ground, and will perhaps establish itself in the language finally, in spite of the Academy and literary tradition [1].

222. First person plural.—In all verbs and tenses, except the preterite, this person now ends in *-ons*. In Old French there existed the three forms: *-omes*, *-oms* (later *ons*), *-om* (or *on*). The original form was *-oms*.

The termination *-oms* (*-ons*) cannot be explained by any of the corresponding forms of the Latin verb. In the 1st conjugation -ā̆mus should have given *-ains*; in the 2nd conjugation -ē̆mus should have given *-eins*; in the 3rd, ĭmus, being atonic, should have given nothing; in the 4th, ī̆mus should have given *-ins*.

The inflexion *-oms* (*-ons*) is in fact derived from sŭmus, the 1 plur. of the present indicative of esse, which according to rule became *soms*. Besides this regular form we find another form *somes*; the *e* was probably introduced under the influence of *esmes*, another form of the 1st person plural of *être*, from the Gallo-Romanic ĕsmus, which was itself an analogical form modelled on the 2nd person plural ĕstis, and used for a long period during the Middle Ages [2]. The language, feeling the necessity of denoting the 1 plur. by a uniform termination, selected that belonging to the verb *être*. Thus in Old French the 1 plur. of the various tenses of *chanter* came to be *nous chantomes*, or *nous chantons*; *nous chantiomes*, or *nous chantions*; *nous chanteromes*, or *nous chanterons*, these

[1] E. g. *suis-jē-ti* for *suis-je*. See A. Darmesteter, *De la Création actuelle des Mots Nouveaux*, p. 4.

[2] On the other hand, *soms* itself changed into a rare form, *som* or *son*; the loss of the final *s* was doubtless due to a temporary effort to make the 1 plur. like the 1 sing., and to keep the *s* exclusively as a characteristic sign of the 2nd persons singular and plural.

being modelled on the alternative forms for the verb *être*: *nous somes* and *nous sons*. At the end of the Middle Ages a distinction was made with regard to the use of the two forms *-omes* and *-ons*: *-omes* was exclusively reserved for the present indicative of the verb *être—nous sommes*[1]; for all other verbs in all their tenses, except the preterite, and even for all other tenses of the verb *être*, except the preterite, the inflexion *-ons* was adopted: *nous chantons, nous chantions, nous étions, nous serons*, &c.

223. SECOND PERSON PLURAL.—Except in the case of the perfect (-ịstis), the terminations of the 2 plur. of the different tenses in Latin were: -ạtis, -ẹtis, -ịtis, and ĭtis. We need not here deal with the termination of the 3rd Latin conjugation -ĭtis, which, not being accented, was lost: fac(ĭ)tis, *faites*; dic(ĭ)tis, *dites* (§ 46).

The terminations -ạtis, -ẹtis, and -ịtis became in French *-ez* and *-eiz*. In the earliest texts we find both these terminations: in the northern and eastern dialects, in the 13th century, *-eiz* became *-oiz*. But in the dialects of the Ile de France the use of the termination *-ez* was extended, owing to analogy, to all 2nd persons plural of all but the preterite tenses of all verbs, excepting *faire, dire*, &c., referred to above: *dev-ez, devi-ez, devr-ez, devri-ez, dussi-ez, vendr-ez*, &c. The forms for the preterite in *-astes, -istes, -ustes* (Mod. F. *-âtes, îtes, -ûtes*), are perhaps due to the influence of the form estes.

224. THIRD PERSON PLURAL.—In Latin we find the following terminations: -ant (cant-ant, cantab-ant, debeb-ant, &c.), -ent (deb-ent, cant-ent, cantass-ent, &c.), -unt (leg-unt, cantar-unt, sunt, &c.), which are atonic in all cases, except in some monosyllables, as stant, sunt. In

[1] [The O. F. form *somes* was changed later into *sommes*, purely for orthographical reasons, in order to show that the *o* is open and not close.]

French[1] these terminations were reduced to a single atonic form *-ent: chant-ent, doiv-ent, lis-ent, chantass-ent, chantèr-ent,* &c.

As this termination consisted of an atonic e feminine, followed by a group of two consonants, which formed a syllable that was very hard to pronounce, in the Middle Ages the n was lost and *-ent* was pronounced *-et.* Then, in the 16th century, the final t, in its turn, was dropped in pronunciation when the word following began with a consonant; and somewhat later on the e became silent. Thus originated the modern pronunciation of the 3rd person plural, in which the -ent has ceased in most cases to be pronounced, unless the verb is connected by *liaison* with a following word beginning with a vowel, when the *t* alone is now sounded.

The Gallo-Romanic dialects, dealing with the same difficulties as the common language, turned the obstacle, not by a change in the group *-nt,* but by simply displacing the accent: cạntant, which gave *chạntent,* became cantạnt, which became *chantạnt.* From the 10th century we find *ocesisạnt* occurring for the 3 plur. of the imperfect subjunctive *ocesisent,* which afterwards became *oceïssent, occissent* (from *ocir, occir, to slay*). This syllable *-ant,* accented, became later on identical in pronunciation with the final syllable of the 1st person plural. Hence the conjugation of country folks: *nous chantọns* (= chãtõ), *ils chantọnt* (= chãtõ).

225. Present participle and gerund.—To these general considerations on verbal inflexions we must add a remark on the present participle and gerund.

In the first Latin conjugation these two tenses of the infinitive ended in -ạntem (accusative case) and -ạndo (ablative case): cant-antem, cant-ando. The terminations

[1] Except in hạbent, *ont*; sụnt, *sont*; fạciunt, fạcunt, *font*; vạdunt, vạunt, *vont.*

in the other conjugations were **-ẹntem, -ẹndo**: **deb-entem, deb-endo**; or **-iẹntem, -iẹndo**: **aud-ientem, aud-iendo.** The other Romance languages merely reduced **-ientem, -iendo**, to **-entem, -endo**, and thus had two terminations: **-ante, -ando**, and **-ente, -endo**; but in French, towards the 7th or 8th century, owing to the tendency, already noted, of reducing verbal inflexions to a single type, **-ente** was replaced by **-ante**, and **-endo** by **-ando.** Hence we find in French only one termination *-ant*, common to all the active participles and gerunds of all conjugations: *lisant, en lisant.*

IV. Form of the Radical.

The radical in the various forms of the verb underwent various modifications, owing to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on different vowels: (i) in the three persons singular and in the 3 plur. of the present indicative and present subjunctive, and the 2 sing. of the imperative; (ii) in the future and conditional. The radical was also in some instances modified in the preterite, in the past participle, and in some persons of other tenses, owing to special causes. These last modifications occur in the dead conjugation, and will be considered in § 250. We shall only consider for the present the modifications produced by the varying position of the accent in the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and the 3 plur. of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive), and in the future and conditional.

226. ON THE PART PLAYED BY THE TEMPUS FORTE IN THE THREE PRESENT TENSES. — The *tempus forte* fell on the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and the 3 plur., in the three present tenses of all verbs (except in the inchoative conjugation in **-ịsco** (§§ 244–246)). On the contrary, the 1 and 2 plur. took the *tempus forte* on the inflexion in nearly all the verbal forms:

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
cạnto		**cạntom**
cạntas	**cạnta**	**cạntes**
cạntat		**cạntet**
cạntant		**cạntent**

but:

cantạmus	**(cantạmus)**	**cantẹmus**
cantạtis	**(cantạtis)**	**cantẹtis**

We know that when the vowel of the radical was accented and stopped—that is, followed by two consonants—it was in general preserved (§ 50). On the contrary, when it was free, it was in general transformed into another vowel or a diphthong.

(i) The vowel **a** when accented and free was changed, as a rule, into **e** (§ 51, 4):

	Indicative.		Imperative.		Subjunctive.	
1 sing.	**lạvo**	*lef*			**lạvem**	*lef*
2 sing.	**lạvas**	*leves*	**lạva**	*leve*	**lạves**	*lefs, les*
3 sing.	**lạvat**	*levet*			**lạvet**	*levet*
3 plur.	**lạvant**	*levent*			**lạvent**	*levent*

but when atonic did not undergo this change (§ 57):

1 plur.	**lavạ̄mus**	*lavons*	**lavạ̄mus**	*lavons*	**lavẹ̄mus**	*lavons*
2 plur.	**lavạ̄tis**	*lavez*	**lavạ̄tis**	*lavez*	**lavẹ̄tis**	*lavez*[1]

This conjugation has left a trace in **apparẹ̄re**, *apparoir*; **appạ̄ret**, *il appert*, the only two existing forms of this defective verb.

(ii) But **a**, free and accented, when followed by a nasal, was changed into **ai** (§ 55):

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je lave, tu laves, il lave, nous lavons, vous lavez, ils lavent*; Imperative: *lave, lavons, lavez*; Subjunctive: *que je lave, que tu laves, qu'il lave, que nous lavions, que vous laviez, qu'ils lavent.*

	Indicative.		Imperative.		Subjunctive.	
1 sing.	**ạmo**	*aim*			**ạmem**	*aim*
2 sing.	**ạmas**	*aimes*	**ạma**	*aime*	**ạmes**	*aims*
3 sing.	**ạmat**	*aimet*			**ạmet**	*aimet*
3 plur.	**ạmant**	*aiment*			**ạment**	*aiment*

but when atonic did not undergo this change:

1 plur.	**amạ̄mus**	*amons*	**amạ̄mus**	*amons*	**amẹ̄mus**	*amons*
2 plur.	**amạ̄tis**	*amez*	**amạ̄tis**	*amez*	**amẹ̄tis**	*amez*[1]

In Modern French, *either* the accented *or* the atonic form alone has been adopted throughout the conjugation of any given verb. Thus we say *nous aimons, vous aimez*, &c. In this verb the atonic form has only been preserved in the archaic *amé* (from **amạtum**), and in the participial substantive *amant* (*lover*) (from **amạntem**). On the other hand, we say *il clame*, &c., instead of *il claime* (**clạmat**), &c., owing to analogy with the forms *nous clamons* (**clamạmus**), &c.

(iii) **È** accented and open became **ie** (§ 51, 2):

	Indicative.		Imperative.		Subjunctive.	
1 sg.	**vẹnio**	*viens*			**vẹniam**	*vienne*
2 sg.	**vẹnis**	*viens*	**vẹni**	*viens*	**vẹnias**	*viennes*
3 sg.	**vẹnit**	*vient*			**vẹniat**	*vienne*
3 pl.	**vẹniunt**	*viennent*			**vẹniant**	*viennent*

but:

1 pl.	**venịmus**	*venons*	**venịmus**	*venons*	**veniạmus**	*venions*
2 pl.	**venịtis**	*venez*	**venịtis**	*venez*	**veniạtis**	*veniez*

Similarly we have the forms **tenẹre**, *tenir*; **tẹnet**, *il tient*;—**quạerere**, *quérir*; **quạerit**, *il quiert*;—**levạre**, *lever*; **lẹvat**, *il lieve*, the form in *-ie-* being preserved in (*re*)*lief*, a verbal substantive derived from *relever* (§ 308, V).

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *j'aime, tu aimes, il aime, nous aimons, vous aimez, ils aiment*; Imperative: *aime, aimons, aimez*; Subjunctive: *que j'aime, que tu aimes, qu'il aime, que nous aimions, que vous aimiez, qu'ils aiment.*

(iv) É accented and close [Latin ē and ī] became ei, and later oi (§§ 51, 3 and 93):

	Indicative.			Indicative.	
1 sg.	debeo, *dęio	*doi*[1]	recipio, *recępo	*reçoif*[2]
2 sg.	dębes	*dois*	recępis	*reçois*
3 sg.	dębet	*doit*	recępit	*reçoit*
3 pl.	dębent	*doivent*	recępunt	*reçoivent*
but:				
1 pl.	debēmus	*devons*	recepịmus	*recevons*
2 pl.	debētis	*devez*	recepịtis	*recevez*

(v) Ò accented and open became uo, ue, oe, eu (§§ 51, 2 and 94):

*tropạre, *trouver* *trǫpat, *trueve, treuve* (Mod. F. *trouve*)
probạre, *prouver* prǫbat, *prueve, preuve* (Mod. F. *prouve*)
*morịre, *mourir* *mǫrit, *meurt*
*potęre, *pouvoir* *pǫtet, *peut*
*volęre, *vouloir* *vǫlet, *veut*
dolęre, *douloir* dǫlet, *deut* (used until the 16th cent.).

(vi) Ó accented and close became eu (§ 51, 3):

colạre, *couler*; cǫlat, *queule* (Mod. F. *coule*)

plorạre, *plourer* (Mod. F. *pleurer*); plǫrat, *pleure*

(vii) È open, followed by a palatal (§ 54, 2), gave the following conjugation:

precare: *je prie, tu pries, il priet, ils prient*; but *nous preyons* (*proyons*[3]); *vous preyez* (*proyez*[4]) (see § 93).

Similarly, with ò open before a palatal (§ 54, 2), we have:

appodiare: *j'appuie, tu appuies, il appuiet, ils appuient*; but *nous appoyons, vous appoyez* (Mod. F. *appuyons, appuyez*).

[1] Mod. F. *je dois.*
[2] Mod. F. *je reçois.*
[3] Mod. F. *prions.*
[4] Mod. F. *priez.*

(viii) There is a last case, differing from the preceding ones: namely when the persons of which the penultimate vowel bore the *tempus forte* consisted of more than two syllables; the penultimate vowel was then necessarily long (§ 40, 3), and was therefore preserved in the persons in question; but, in those persons of which the termination was accented, this penultimate vowel, becoming atonic, was dropped, according to the rule relating to atonic vowels (§ 48):

Indicative.		Imperative.	Subjunctive.	
aiṇto	*aiu*		**aiṇtem**	*aiu*
aiṇtas	*aiues*	**aiūta** *aiue*	**aiṇtes**	*aiues*
aiṇtat	*aiuet*		**aiṇtet**	*aiuet*
aiṇtant	*aiuent*		**aiṇtent**	*aiuent*

but:

aiūtạmus	*aidons*		**aiūtẹmus**	*aidons*
aiūtạtis	*aidiez*		**aiūtẹtis**	*aidiez*[1]

Similarly with the conjugation in Old French of (1) the verb *parler* (**parabolạre**, ***paraulạre**):

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
je parol		*que je parol*
tu paroles	*parole*	*que tu parols*
il parolet		*que il parolt*
nous parlons	*parlons*	*que nous parlons*
vous parlez	*parlez*	*que vous parlez*
ils parolent		*que ils parolent*[2]

and of (2) the verb *raisonner* (**rationạre**):

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *j'aide, tu aides, il aide, nous aidons, vous aidez, ils aident*; Imperative: *aide, aidons, aidez*; Subjunctive: *que j'aide, que tu aides, qu'il aide, que nous aidions, que vous aidiez, qu'ils aident.*

[2] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je parle, tu parles, il parle, nous parlons, vous parlez, ils parlent*; Imperative: *parle, parlons, parlez*; Subjunctive: *que je parle, que tu parles, qu'il parle, que nous parlions, que vous parliez, qu'ils parlent.*

Indicative.	Imperative.	Subjunctive.
je raison		*que je raison*
tu raisonnes	*raisonne*	*que tu raisons*
il raisonnet		*qu'il raisont*
nous raisnons	*raisnons*	*que nous raisnons*
vous raisniez	*raisniez*	*que vous raisnez*
ils raisonnent		*qu'ils raisonnent*[1]

Such then was the varied series of forms of the Old French conjugation developed under the influence of the *tempus forte.*

From the end of the Middle Ages the language sought to simplify these forms and began to unify the conjugation. In some cases the *accented* forms prevailed, for instance in *aimer, pleurer, raisonner*; in others the *atonic* form, for example in *couler, laver, parler.* It is difficult to determine the reasons which caused the one to prevail in a given instance rather than the other. At the present day no traces of these double forms exist in the living conjugations. The last examples date from the 17th century, and are to be found in Molière: *on treuve* (see § 226, v; *Misanthrope*, i. 1); and in La Fontaine: *je treuve* (Fables, ii. 20). But in the dead conjugation numerous specimens of the double forms still exist: *je tiens, nous tenons*; *je meurs, nous mourons*; *je puis* or *je peux, nous pouvons*, &c. (§ 253).

227. On the part played by the tempus forte in the future and conditional.—We know that these two tenses were formed by the combination of the infinitive with the present and the imperfect of **habere** (§ 218): **cantare habeo, cantarabio, cantaraio; cantare-habebam, cantarebeba, cantareveva, cantareva, cantarea.** Now in the forms

[1] The modern forms corresponding to these are—Indicative: *je raisonne, tu raisonnes, il raisonne, nous raisonnons, vous raisonnez, ils raisonnent*; Imperative: *raisonne, raisonnons, raisonnez*; Subjunctive: *que je raisonne, que tu raisonnes, qu'il raisonne, que nous raisonnions, que vous raisonniez, qu'ils raisonnent.*

cantarạio, cantarẹa, the accent is on **a** in **ạio**, on **e** in **ẹa**. Consequently the **a** of **-are**, that was accented in the infinitive when isolated, **cantạre**, became the atonic counterfinal in the new compounds **cantarạio, cantarẹa**. Hence, in virtue of known laws (§ 48), this **a** became an **e** mute in these forms: *je chanterai, je chanterais.*

In virtue of the same laws, vowels other than **a** in the same position, when they were not protected by consonant-groups, were lost. We find therefore:

Future.		Infinitive.	
cantarạio	*chanter-ai*	**cantạre**	*chanter*
debērạio	*devr-ai*	**debẹ̄re**	*devoir*
tenērạio	*tendr-ai, tiendrai*	**tenẹ̄re**	*tenir*
valērạio	*valdr-ai, vaudrai*	**valẹ̄re**	*valoir*
***cadērạio**	*chedr-ai, cherrai*	**cadẹ̄re**	*cheoir*
vidērạio	*vedr-ai, verr-ai*	**vidẹ̄re**	*veoir, voir*
sedērạio	*sedr-ai, serr-ai*	**sedẹ̄re**	*seoir*
***recipērạio**	*recevr-ai*	**recipẹ̄re**	*recevoir*
venīrạio	*vendr-ai, viendr-ai*	**venḭre**	*venir*
morīrạio	*morr-ai, mourr-ai*	**morḭre**	*mourir*
audīrạio	*odr-ai, orr-ai*	**audḭre**	*oïr, ouïr*, &c.

Thus may be explained these formations of the future, which at first seem so strange, but which really show a regular application of phonetic laws. In Modern French most of the original forms, although normal from the etymological standpoint, have been simplified, as far as possible, under the unifying action of analogy. We shall see in the following section to what extent the language has remained faithful to its older usage.

SECTION II.—*The different Conjugations.*

228. On the revolution in the system of conjugation during the change from Latin into French.—229. The living conjugations.—230. The dead conjugation.

I. FIRST LIVING CONJUGATION (Verbs whose present infinitives end in *-er*).—231. Indicative mood.—232. Imperative mood.—233. Sub-

junctive mood.—234. Infinitive mood.—235. Compound tenses.—236. Verbs formerly ending in *-ier*.—237. Unification of the conjugation of verbs in *-er*, whose radical was subject to modification in Old French.—238. Verbs in *-er*, of which the final close *é* in the infinitive is preceded by an *e* mute or another close *é*.—239. Verbs in *-yer*.—240. Verbs in *-er* preceded by a vowel.—241. Verbs in *-ger*, *-cer*.—242. The irregular verbs *envoyer* and *aller*.

II. Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs).—243. The inchoative particle *-iss-*.—244. Indicative mood.—245. Imperative mood.—246. Subjunctive mood.—247. Infinitive mood.—248. The irregular verbs *bénir*, *fleurir*, *haïr*, *vêtir*.

III. The Dead Conjugation.—249. The dead conjugation.—250. Preterite and past participle.—251. Infinitive, future, and conditional.—252. Present participle.—253. The three present tenses in the dead conjugation.—254. Peculiarities of certain verbs.

Introduction.

228. On the revolution in the system of conjugation during the change from Latin into French.—Latin possessed four conjugations, of which the present infinitive terminations were:

I. -ạ̄re	III. -ĕre
II. -ẹ̄re	IV. -ị̄re

The Latin system was revolutionized as a whole during its passage into French. The 1st conjugation alone remained untouched; the others were more or less completely fused together and underwent such changes as to form an altogether new system.

There is no example of a verb of the 1st conjugation having passed into another conjugation. All those Latin verbs in -ạ̄re which survived in the popular language have become French verbs in -er.

The conjugations other than the 1st do not show the same constancy.

A few verbs in -ẹ̄re, -ĕre, and -ị̄re, either in the Latin period or, later, in the French period, took the inflexion -ạ̄re, or the corresponding French form *-er*, and so have passed into the 1st conjugation. Thus pavị̄re in the

earliest French became *paver*; and the O. F. *toussir* (Lat. **tussire**) was replaced in the 16th century by *tousser*. The Latin **putēre** first gave *puir*, but this was changed into the modern form *puer* in the 16th, although the form *puir* co-existed with *puer* till the 18th century. In Modern French, popular usage has introduced, in the same way, the verb *mouver*, from the participle *mouvant*, derived from *mouvoir*.

We shall now consider the majority of the verbs belonging to conjugations other than the 1st.

Verbs in **-ēre** gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in **-oir**: **debēre**, *devoir*; **habēre**, *avoir*, &c.

Verbs in **-ĕre** gave according to phonetic rule infinitives in *-re*: **dicĕre**, *dire*; **legĕre**, *lire*; **rumpĕre**, *rompre*, &c.

But, owing either to a change of suffix already effected in Popular Latin, or else to an analogical influence exercised in French by other parts of these verbs, certain Latin infinitives in **-ēre** became French infinitives in *-ir* or in *-re*, and certain Latin infinitives in **-ĕre** became French infinitives in *-oir*: **tenēre**, *tenir*; **ridēre**, *rire*; **cadĕre**, *cheoir*, *choir*; **sapĕre**, *savoir*, &c.

Certain verbs have even adopted more than one form of the infinitive—(i) in Old French:

manēre	*manoir* and *maindre* (*to remain*)
movēre	*mouvoir* and *mouvre*
sequĕre	*sivre* (*suivre*) and *sivir*
tollĕre	*toldre* and *tollir*

or (ii) in Modern French:

gemĕre	*geindre* and *gémir*
fallĕre	*faillir* and *falloir*
currĕre	*courre*[1] and *courir*

In **mucēre**, *moisir*; **placēre**, O.F. *plaisir*[2], and other

[1] In the expression *chasse à courre*.

[2] Only used as a substantive in Modern French; the infinitive has been replaced by *plaire* under the influence of the present indicative, *je plais*, *tu plais*, &c.

similar infinitives, the **é**, being preceded by a palatal, has been transformed, not into *ei, oi,* but into *i* (§ 54, IV).

The Latin verbs in **-ɪre**, which were not very numerous, have regularly given French verbs in *-ir*: **audɪre**, *ouïr*; **partɪre**, *partir*; **sentɪre**, *sentir*.

Thus, to sum up (omitting from consideration the few verbs which passed from other conjugations into the 1st), we find that **-are** has always been transformed into *-er*, and **-ire** into *-ir*; but **-ēre**, which should normally have given *-oir*, and **-ĕre**, which should have given *-re*, have under various influences developed in some cases into *-re*, in others into *-oir*, and in others, again, into *-ir*.

For the preterite and past participle French possesses two special terminations: **-is** and **-us** for the preterite, **-i** and **-u** for the past participle. These terminations seem to be used with equal frequency and almost at random:

		Preterite.	Past participle.
sentir	gives	*je sent-is*	*sent-i*
partir	,,	*je part-is*	*part-i*
vêtir	,,	*je vêt-is*	*vêt-u*
courir	,,	*je cour-us*	*cour-u*
rendre	,,	*je rend-is*	*rend-u*
rire	,,	*je r-is*	*r-i*
lire	,,	*je l-us*	*l-u*

To continue: the first person singular of the present indicative of the verbs of the 2nd Latin conjugation ended in **-eo**: **gaudeo**. In the present subjunctive the person-endings were **-eam**, **-eas**, **-eat**, &c. The atonic **e**, in hiatus, of **-eo**, **-eam**, &c., was, as we know (§ 60), changed in Popular Latin, towards the end of the Empire, into **i**, and Gallo-Romanic had in its turn changed this vowel into **yod**, **gaudeo, gaudeam, gaudeas,** becoming **gaudio, gaudiam, gaudias,** &c. On the other hand, the same persons of the same

tenses of verbs of the 4th conjugation, and of some verbs of the 3rd, ended in **-io, -iam, -ias,** &c. Now in Gallo-Romanic this **yod**, in all the cases above mentioned, was gradually dropped, so that the 2nd and 4th conjugations became, as far as these tenses were concerned, identical with those of the majority of verbs of the 3rd conjugation, of which the corresponding forms ended in **-o, -am, -as,** &c.

The result was a veritable chaos and inextricable confusion into which the language was compelled to introduce order and clearness.

Owing to a first tendency in this direction a certain number of verbs came to have the same ending for the *preterite*, in *-i* (later on *-is*), from the Latin **-ivi**, and the same ending for the *past participle*, in *-u*, from the Latin **-utum** :

Je tend-is	*tend-u*
Je vend-is	*vend-u*
Je romp-is	*romp-u*

But this tendency was not strong enough to lead to the formation of a single, regular, and living conjugation; it only resulted in the analogical reduction of a certain number of the older French forms which were as yet hardly distinct from Latin.

On the other hand, there was a tendency that proved more fruitful: viz. that which led to the creation of the conjugation of the type of *finir*. There existed in Latin a number of verbs ending in the present infinitive in **-ascere, -escere, -iscere,** or **-oscere,** verbs called *inchoative*[1], because they denote the beginning of an action (**inchoare,** to commence). Thus **splendēre** means *to shine*; **splendescere,** *to begin to shine.*

In Popular Latin this termination in **-scere** was applied to a great number of verbs in **-ēre, -ĕre, -īre,** which became French verbs in **-ir,** its inchoative meaning being at the same time lost. The radical was thus lengthened by the

[1] [Or *inceptive*, from **incipere** = to commence.]

interpolation of the syllable **-isc**, not in all tenses and persons, but only in those where it was necessary (in order to convert all atonic terminations into accented ones).

229. THE LIVING CONJUGATIONS.—The class of verbs of which the infinitive ended in **-ir** was developed in French with sufficient strength and perseverance to form a new *living* conjugation alongside with that in **-are**, **-ar**, **-er**.

Indeed, from the earliest times all new verbs introduced into French, whether they were created by methods of derivation, or borrowed from foreign languages, or due to the Graeco-Latin learned formation, belong to the conjugations in **-er** and **-ir** without exception, and we may safely predict that verbs introduced hereafter will also be conjugated similarly. Hence we call these two conjugations, of which the present infinitives end in *-er* and *-ir*, the *living conjugations.*

As a rule, verbs derived from substantives belong to the 1st conjugation: *plume, plumer*; *feuillet, feuilleter*; *mur, murer*; whilst verbs taken from adjectives belong to the 2nd conjugation: *grand, grandir*; *faible, faiblir*; *noir, noircir* (see Book III, § 318).

230. THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—The remaining verbs—and they are not very numerous (about eighty in all)—together form what has been justly called the *dead conjugation.* This conjugation includes some non-inchoative verbs in **-ir**, such as *bouillir, partir*, &c.; some verbs in **-oir**, such as *avoir, devoir, recevoir*, &c.; and some verbs in **-re**, such as *rendre, rire, rompre*, &c.

I. First Living Conjugation.

(Verbs whose present infinitives end in- *er.*)

231. INDICATIVE MOOD.—We shall take for this and all the other moods the verb *chanter*, derived from the Latin **cantare**, as our type.

1. Present indicative:

Latin.	French.
cạnto	*chant* (11th century), *chante* (13th century)
cạntas	*chant-es*
cạntat	*chant-et* (11th century), *chante* (12th century)
cantạ̄mus	*chant-ons*
cantạ̄tis	*chant-ez*
cạntant	*chant-ent*

1 *sing.* The primitive form was *chant*, the atonic final **o** of **cạnto** being dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47). When, however, this **o** was preceded by a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel, an **e** feminine was added: **intro**, *j'entre*; **simulo**, *je semble*; **tremulo**, *je tremble.* Hence towards the 13th and 14th century, under the influence of analogy, an **e** was added to the first persons of all verb-radicals ending with a consonant: *je chante*, &c. The addition of this **e** was even extended to radicals ending in a vowel: *je prie, je confie.* However, in the latter case we find until the middle of the 16th century the forms without the **e**: *je pri, je confi*, as archaisms preserved by poetic licence. It is true that in most cases, as these archaic forms were wrongly supposed to be due to the omission of an **e**, this was replaced by an apostrophe.

2 *sing.* The final **s** dropped in pronunciation in the 16th century. This explains the fact that in the written literature of that time it was in some cases omitted.

3 *sing.* The original form was *chantet*; the **t** dropped at the beginning of the 12th century, and the **e** became mute quite at the end of the 16th century.

1, 2, and 3 *plur.*—For these persons see §§ 222, 223, and 224.

We see that by a series of phonetic changes the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and the 3 plur. have now become identical in pronunciation; e.g. the verb in *je chante, tu chantes, il chante, ils chantent*, is in each case pronounced **chăt'**.

2. Imperfect:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	O.F.	Mod. F.
cant-ạbam	**cant-ạva**	*chant-aue, -òe*	*chantais*
cant-ạbas	**cant-ạvas**	*chant-aues, -òes*	*chantais*
cant-ạbat	**cant-ạvat**	*chant-auet, -òet*	*chantait*
cant-abāmus	**cant-avāmus**	*chant-iiens*	*chantions*
cant-abātis	**cant-avātis**	*chant-iiez*	*chantiez*
cant-ạbant	**cant-ạvant**	*chant-auent,-òent*	*chantaient*

In the 11th century the 3 sing., *chant-òet,* became *chantòt, chantòut.* In the 12th century *chant-òe, chant-òes, chantòut, chantòent,* became, by analogy with the imperfect of *finir* (§ 243, ii), *chantoie, chantoies, chantoit, chantoient.* The 1 plur. in the 11th century became *chant-iions,* and in the 12th century we already find *-iions, -iiez,* reduced to *-ions, -iez*; the origin of these forms is obscure: analogy with the verbs in *-ir* without doubt influenced them.

3. Preterite:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	French.
cant-ạvi	**cant-ại**	*chant-ai*
cant-avịsti	**cant-ạsti**	*chant-as*
cant-ạvit	**cant-ạt**	*chant-at, chant-a*
cant-ạvimus	***cant-ạmmus**	*chant-ames, âmes*
cant-avịstis	**cant-ạstis**	*chant-astes, -âtes*
cant-avẹrunt	**cant-ạrunt**	*chant-érent* (later *chantèrent*)

1 *sing.*—In **cantạvi**, before the 7th century, the **v** was dropped and the **i** formed a diphthong with the **a**: *cantai.*

2 *sing.*—**Cantạsti** became first *chantast* (§§ 50 and 47); towards the 8th or 9th century the **t** dropped under the predominating influence of the **s**, already felt to be the characteristic of the second person (§ 220).

3 *sing.*—**Cantạvit** was pronounced **cantạvt**; the **v** was dropped before the **t** and gave *chantat*; then, in the 12th century, the **t** itself was lost and gave *chanta.*

1 *and* 2 *plur.*—**Cantavimus** became **cantavmus**, and then *chantames*, and *cantastis* became *chantastes*. This second form reacted on the first and changed it into *chantasmes*, from which, with the loss of the **s** (§ 102), it gave *chantâmes, chantâtes*; in Modern French the **a** has become short, and the forms, though written as above, are pronounced *chantămes, chantătes*.

3 *plur.*—The form *chantèrent* is derived regularly from **cantarunt**. The form *chantarent*, which occurs in the 15th and 16th centuries, was due to analogy with the 1 and 2 plur.

Preterites of the 1st conjugation in -i are to be found in French dialects; for example: *je mangi*, &c. (§ 236).

4. For the Future and Conditional, see §§ 218, 227.

232. Imperative mood.—Present:

2 *sing.*—**cant-a** gave, according to phonetic rule, *chante*.

1 *and* 2 *plur.*—*Chantons, chantez*, are taken from the indicative. The Latin **cant-ate** would have given *chantét, chanté*, but these forms were probably not adopted because they would have been too easily confused with the past participle.

233. Subjunctive mood.—1. Present subjunctive:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
cant-em	**cant-e**	*chant*	*chant-e*
cant-es	**cant-es**	*chanz* (=*chant-s*)	*chant-es*
cant-et	**cant-et**	*chant* (=*chant-t*)	*chant-e*
cant-ēmus	**cant-ēmus**	*chant-iens, -ons*	*chant-ions*
cant-ētis	**cant-ētis**	*chant-eiz, -ez*	*chant-iez*
cant-ent	**cant-ent**	*chant-ent*	*chant-ent*

Sing.—The atonic **e** was regularly dropped: *chant, chanz, chant*, are thus the normal primitive forms.

Similarly, *que je plor, que tu plor-s, qu'il plor-t; que je lo, que tu loz, qu'il lot*, are the corresponding forms from the

verbs *plorer* and *loer* (Mod. F. *pleurer, louer*). Only those verbs whose radical ended with a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel have an e in the singular inflexions in Old French: *que j'entre, que tu entres, qu'il entret,* &c. Later, the use of this vowel (as in the present indicative, § 231) became universal owing to analogy, and led to forms on the type of *que je chante, que tu chantes, qu'il chante,* &c.

1 *plur.*—*Chant-iens* was never much used; the ordinary form was *chantons.* In the 16th century, either by a fusion of these two forms, or more probably owing to analogy with the subjunctives of verbs in *-ir,* appeared the modern form *chantions.*

2 *plur.*—*Chanteiz* disappeared at an early period before *chantez* (§ 223), which was preserved until the 16th century. At this time *chantez* underwent the same treatment as *chantons* and became *chantiez.*

2. Imperfect subjunctive:

Latin.	Old and Middle French.	Mod. French.
cant-ạssem	*chant-asse*	*chant-asse*
cant-ạsses	*chant-asses*	*chant-asses*
cant-ạsset	*chant-ast, chant-ât*	*chant-ât*
cant-assẹ̄mus	*chant-issons, chant-assions*	*chant-assions*
cant-assẹ̄tis	*chant-issiez, chant-assiez*	*chant-assiez*
cant-ạssent	*chant-assent*	*chant-assent*

Sing.—We should have expected the regular forms: *que je chantas, que tu chantas* (= *chantasss*), the final atonic e being dropped; but the final e has been preserved so as to leave its characteristic form to this tense.

Plur.—It was only in the 16th century that the 1 and 2 plur. *chantissons, chantissiez,* were definitively replaced by *chantassions, chantassiez,* under the influence of the a of the other persons. Robert Estienne, in his Grammar published in 1569, only recognizes the forms *chantissions, chantissiez.* Besides *chantissons,* we find at a fairly early date the forms

chantiss-iens, chantiss-ions; the termination *-ions* finally prevailed in the 16th century.

234. INFINITIVE MOOD.—

		Latin.	French.
Present		**cant-ạre**	*chant-er*
Partic. present		**cant-ạntem**	*chant-ant*
Gerund (abl.)		**cant-ạndo**	*chant-ant*
Partic. past, M.	Sg.	**cant-ạtus, -ạtum**	*chant-ez, et* (O.F.), *chanté*
	Pl.	**cant-ạti, -ạtos**	*chant-et, ez* (O.F.), *chantés*
F.	Sg.	**cant-ạta**	*chant-ede* (O.F.), *chant-ée*
	Pl.	**cant-ạtas**	*chantedes* (O.F.), *chant-ées*

235. COMPOUND TENSES.—As these tenses involve the consideration of the auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*, we shall discuss them later on (§ 254).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

236. VERBS FORMERLY ENDING IN **-ier.**—In certain O. F. verbs, under the action of a preceding palatal (§ 54, I. *a*), the Latin **a** of the present infinitive, the past participle, the 2 plur. of the present, and the 3 plur. of the preterite indicative, had been changed, not into **é**, but into **ié**: *changier* (***cambiạre**), *cerchier* (**circạre**), *aidier* (**adjutạre**), *cuidier* (**cogitạre**), *nagier* (**navigạre**), *traitier* (**tractạre**), *enseignier* (**insignạre**), &c. Thus the forms used were: *changié, vous changiez, que vous changiez*; *vous aidiez, que vous aidiez*; *changièrent, aidièrent*, &c. Between the 14th century and the 16th the action of the regular conjugation caused the loss of this diphthong **ié**, which was replaced by the usual vowel **é**: the unification of form prevailed thus everywhere in French proper.

The northern and eastern dialects, however, far from following this progress of French towards simplification, brought matters to extremes. They reduced **ié** to **i**, and this phonetic modification caused a great number of verbs of the 1st conjugation to pass apparently into the 2nd. The infinitive, past participle, the 3 sing. of the preterite, the 2 plur. of the three present tenses, all having now the vowel **i** in their inflexion, the whole of the tenses received this inflexion. Thus the verb *mangier* became *mangir* and was conjugated in the preterite: *je mangi, tu mangis, il mangi, nous mangimes, vous mangites, ils mangirent.*

This apparent change of conjugation is to be distinguished from that which took place in the 16th century, temporarily, in the case of the ordinary verbs in **-er**. In these the old 1 and 2 plur. of the imperfect subjunctive, *que nous chantissons, que vous chantissiez* (§ 234), led to the remodelling of the other persons of the tense, giving *que je chantisse, que tu chantisses, qu'il chantist, qu'ils chantissent,* while the type was even extended to the preterite: *je chantis, tu chantis, il chantit, nous chantimes, vous chantites, ils chantirent.*

These forms did not, however, survive either in the common language or in the dialects or patois.

237. UNIFICATION OF THE CONJUGATION OF VERBS IN **-er**, WHOSE RADICAL WAS SUBJECT TO MODIFICATION IN OLD FRENCH.—The principle of unification prevailed again in the conjugation of those verbs where the vowel of the radical was, in certain tenses and persons, modified under the influence of the *tempus forte*: *il aime, nous amons, il queule, nous coulons,* became *il aime, nous aimons; il coule, nous coulons.* (See § 226.)

238. VERBS IN **-er**, OF WHICH THE FINAL CLOSE **é** IN THE INFINITIVE IS PRECEDED BY AN **e** MUTE OR ANOTHER CLOSE **é**.—We have explained above (§ 227) how the close

é of the infinitive was changed into e mute in the future and conditional: *je chanter-ai, je chante-rais.* We have to examine the case where this close é of the infinitive is preceded (1) by an e mute, as in *geler, lever, peser,* and in verbs in -eler, -eter, or (2) by a close é, as in *céder, espérer.*

1*st case.*—In the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the three present tenses the e mute, under the influence of the *tempus forte,* was changed into open è: *je gèle, je lève.* In verbs in -eler, -eter, the e has been marked as open in spelling, either by means of a grave accent or by doubling the consonant l or t, as in: *j'épèle* or *j'épelle; j'achète, je jette.* The other persons keep the e mute: *nous gelons, vous levez, nous épelons, nous achetons, vous jetez.*

Hence we have an alternation between forms in which the vowel of the radical is accented and forms in which it is atonic. This alternation is especially evident at the present day in the verbs in -eler and -eter, in which the e in those forms in which it would normally be atonic, and remain an e mute, drops altogether in pronunciation[1]: we say *je renouvęlle, tu renouvęlles, il renouvęlle, ils renouvęllent,* but *nous renouv'lǫns, vous renouv'lęz, je renouv'lǫis*; and similarly *je cachęte,* &c., but *nous cach'tǫns,* &c.[2] We see in this instance exactly the same process reproduced in Modern French which took place in Old French with regard to *parler* (see § 226, 8). In the O.F. conjugation the forms used were *je parole, tu paroles,* but *nous parlons, vous parlez,* &c. Just as custom caused the contracted forms on the type of *parlons, parlez,* to be used throughout the verb, so the popular language of the present day is causing the contracted forms with the *tempus forte* thrown back, *je cǫch'te, tu cǫch'tes, je décǫll'te, j'épǫuss'te,* &c., to replace *je cachęte, tu cachętes, je décollęte, j'époussętte,* &c.

In the future and conditional (all persons) the e mute

[1] Except in declamation and verse.

[2] These forms are written *renouvelons, renouvelez, renouvelais,* &c.; *cachetons,* &c.

of the radical, being similarly followed by another **e** mute, and bearing the *tempus forte*, is also changed into open **è**: *je gèlerai, je jetterai*, &c., and the pronunciation is marked either by the use of the grave accent or by a double consonant following.

2nd case.—In the infinitive of these verbs a close **é** occurs as the vowel of the radical, e.g. *céder, espérer.* In the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and in the 3 plur. of the three present tenses, this close **é** (like the **e** mute in the instances mentioned before) being followed by an **e** mute is similarly changed into an open **è**: *il cède, il espère.*

In the future and conditional the case is different, because the **e** mute of the infinitive contained in the written forms has become silent in modern pronunciation; *je cèderai, j'espèrerai*, are in reality pronounced *je* **céd'rai**, *j'***espér'rai**. The vowel of the radical being free, there is no reason for it to change.

239. Verbs in **-yer.**—In the conjugation of these verbs **y** is changed into **i** before **e** mute. According to the modern spelling *payer* gives *je paie*, &c.

240. Verbs in **-er** preceded by a vowel.—For example: *payer, ployer, prier, louer*, &c. In the future and conditional this vowel is followed by an **e** mute, which in poetry is sometimes replaced by a circumflex accent: *paierai, paîrai; prierai, prîrai*, &c.

241. Verbs in **-ger** and **-cer.**—The addition of an **e** after the **g**, and of a cedilla under the **c** before **a** and **o**, is a purely orthographic convention, as in *nous mangeons, je plaçais*, &c., so that the **g** may be pronounced as a **j**, and the **c** as a surd **s**. (See §§ 34, 35.)

242. The irregular verbs **envoyer** and **aller.**—**Envoyer** gives in the future and conditional the forms *j'enverrai* and *j'enverrais*, instead of *j'envoie-rai, j'envoie-*

rais, which were still used in the 17th century. This substitution was due to the action of the verb *voir*, which for a long time possessed double forms for the future: *je voirai* and *je verrai*. The latter alone survived, and *envoierai* disappeared before the analogical future *enverrai*.

The conjugation of **aller** is formed from three distinct verbs:

(i) The Latin **ire**, which also means *to go*, has given the future and conditional: *j'irai*, *j'irais*. This same verb **ire** is a component part of the Latin verb **exire** (*to go out*), which became the O.F. verb *eissir*, *issir*, of which the past participle *issu* has survived; and also of the verbs **perire** (*to go through*, and hence, *perish*), **subire** (*to go underneath*), represented in French by *périr*, *subir*, words of Learned formation.

(ii) The Latin **vadere**, also meaning *to go*, has given the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the present indicative: *je vois* (O.F.), *je vais* or *je vas*[1]; *tu vas*; *il vat* (O.F.), *il va*; *ils vont*. This verb is also a component part of the verb **invadere** (Pop. Lat. ***invadire**), *envahir*.

(iii) Lastly, a verb of obscure origin, which is represented in Italian by **andare**, in Spanish and Portuguese by **andar**, in Provençal by **anar**, in Old French by **aler**, in Modern French by **aller**, has given the three tenses of the infinitive, *aller*, *allant*, *allé*; the 1 and 2 plur. of the present indicative, *allons*, *allez*; the plural of the imperative, *allons*, *allez*, &c.; the whole of the preterite, *allai*, &c.; the whole of the subjunctive with its irregular forms in the present (1, 2, and 3 sing., and 3 plur.), *aille*, *ailles*, *aille*, *aillent*; *allions*, *alliez*; *allasse*, &c.

[1] *Vois* has become *vais*, as *François* has become *Français*. The form *je vas* is due to the analogy of *tu vas*, just as the form *je peux*, which co-exists with *je puis*, has come from *tu peux*.

II. Second Living Conjugation (Inchoative Verbs).

243. THE INCHOATIVE PARTICLE **-iss-**.—This conjugation (for the origin of which see pp. 342, 343) is characterized by the interpolation of the syllable **-iss-** between the radical and the termination in the present and imperfect indicative, in the plural of the imperative, in the present subjunctive, the present participle, and the gerund. In the other tenses—the preterite, imperfect subjunctive, infinitive, future and conditional, and past participle—the radical remains unchanged.

In the popular pronunciation of the Gallo-Romans **-isc-** was changed into **-ics-**: hence the French form **-is-** or **-iss-**. This **s** is a surd **s**; this is why, owing to orthographic convention (§ 34), it is doubled before a vowel: *nous finissons*, &c. On the other hand, before a consonant it has disappeared: *finis-t*, derived from **finiscit**, has become *finit*. Similarly *tu finis* (pron. *fini*), from **finiscis**, stands for *finis-s*.

244. INDICATIVE MOOD.—1. Present indicative:

Latin.	French.
fin-isc-o	*fin-is*[1]
fin-isc-is	*fin-is*
fin-isc-it	*fin-ist* (O.F.), *fin-it*
fin-isc-imus	*fin-iss-ons*
fin-isc-itis	*fin-iss-ez*
fin-isc-unt	*fin-iss-ent*

1 *sing.*—The final atonic **o** of **finisco** was dropped according to phonetic rule (§ 47), and the syllable **-isc-**, **-ics-**, was regularly reduced to **-is-**. In pronunciation the final **s** of *finis* is silent before a consonant, and becomes a sonant **s** before a vowel in cases of *liaison*: *Je finis à peine* is pronounced *je finiz-à-peine*.

[1] The Old French form was *fenir* and not *finir*, a form copied from Latin. In order not to complicate our exposition we give the paradigms in the form of *finir*, even for older forms. The form of the radical does not signify here, as the present object is to study the terminations.

2 *sing.*—The **s** of the syllable **-isc-**, *-iss-*, and that of the inflexion **-ĭs**, *-s*, have fused into one: **finiscĭs**, *finis*. The fate of this final **s** has been similar to that of the **s** of the first person.

3 *sing.*—**Finiscit** became, according to rule, *finist*; then the **s** was dropped before **t**, as in *teste*, *tête*; *giste*, *gîte*; *nostre*, *notre*. To be consistent, the word should be written *finît* (§ 102).

Plur.—No remark is necessary.

2. Imperfect indicative:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	O. F.	Mod. F.
fin-isc-ebam	**fin-iss-ēa**	*fin-iss-eie, -oie*	*fin-iss-ais*
fin-isc-ebas	**fin-iss-ēas**	*fin-iss-eies, -oies*	*fin-iss-ais*
fin-isc-ebat	**fin-iss-ēat**	*fin-iss-eiet,-eit,-oit*	*fin-iss-ait*
fin-isc-ebamus	**fin-iss-eāmus**	*fin-iss-iions, -ions*	*fin-iss-ions*
fin-isc-ebatis	**fin-iss-eātis**	*fin-iss-iiez, -iez*	*fin-iss-iez*
fin-isc-ebant	**fin-iss-ēant**	*fin-iss-eient, -oient*	*fin-iss-aient*

We have only in this place to consider the terminations **-ebam**, **-ebas**, &c. The long accented **ē** in the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and 3 plur., became **ei** (§ 51, 3); the intervocal[1] **v** was dropped, though according to no fixed rule[2], and the final atonic **a** became an **e**. Hence the primitive terminations *-eie*, *-eies*, *-eiet*, *-eient*.

From the 11th century *-eiet* was replaced by *-eit*. At the end of the 12th, the diphthong **ei** became **oi** (§ 93), and hence the terminations *-oie*, *-oies*, *-oit*, *-oient*; from that time forward the imperfect of this conjugation became

[1] I. e. between two vowels.

[2] The **v** between two vowels was usually preserved: **le-v-are**, *lever*. It was, however, dropped in **vi-v-enda**, *viande* (§ 83), in order to avoid the close repetition of the same labial consonant. It has been supposed, with some probability, that the dropping of the **v** in *finisseva* was due to the same cause; this termination *-eva* being derived from **avēva** (Classical Latin **habebam**, imperfect of **habeo**), which, for the same reason as **vivenda**, dropped the second **v** and became **avea**, O. F. *avete*, *avoie*; Mod. F. *avais*.

identical with that of the 1st conjugation, and has the same history.

At the end of the Middle Ages *-oies* (2 sing.) became *-ois*; between the 14th and the 15th century *-oie* (1 sing.) became *-oi*, *-oy*, and then, with the addition of an **s** (§ 219), *-ois*. In the 14th century the three forms *-oie*, *-oy*, and *-ois* were used indiscriminately. At the same time the pronunciation of the diphthong **ȯi** was changed into **oè**, and then into **wè** (§ 93). In the second half of the 16th century a fresh change took place: **wè** was reduced to **è** in the 1, 2, and 3 sing. and 3 plur. of the imperfect and the present conditional (§ 115). The forms still written *il aimoit*, *il finissoit*, were no longer pronounced *il aimwè*, *il finiswè*, but *il aimè*, *il finissè*. The pronunciation *wè* was, however, preserved until the middle of the 17th century in the solemn and somewhat archaic language of the Parliaments and Law Courts. But it finally disappeared before the pronunciation è (written *ai*), which became general. The notation *ai* instead of *oi*, introduced in the 17th century by the advocate Bérain[1], and revived and defended by Voltaire, finally triumphed in the first third of the 19th century. Hence the written forms of the imperfect now used: *j'aimais*, *tu aimais*; *je finissais*, *tu finissais*, &c.

The terminations *-iions*, *-iiez*, already noticed (§ 231, 2), appeared in the 1 and 2 plur. from the earliest period of the language; their origin has not yet been entirely elucidated.

3. Preterite:

Classical Latin.	Popular Latin.	French.
fin-i̯vi	**fin-i̯i**	*fin-i* (O.F.), *fin-is*
fin-iv̯isti, isti	**fin-i̯sti**	*fin-ist*, *fin-is*
fin-i̯vit	**fin-i̯t**	*fin-it*
fin-i̯vimus	**fin-i̯mus**	*fin-imes* (O.F.), *fin-îmes*
fin-iv̯istis, -istis	**fin-i̯stis**	*fin-istes* (O.F.), *fin-îtes*
fin-ivērunt	**fin-i̯runt**	*fin-irent*

[1] [His *Nouvelles Remarques sur la Langue Française* were published in 1675.]

The remarks made with regard to **cantavi**, and the perfect of the 1st conjugation (§ 231, 3), hold good here. The replacement in the Latin form of **a** by **i** constitutes the only difference between the two cases.

4. Future and conditional:

The inflexions of these tenses are formed regularly and have been discussed in § 218. With regard to the preservation of the **i** of the infinitive in *finir-ai*, *finir-ais* (from the forms **finir-abeo**, **finir-aio**; **finir-abebam**, **finir-eva**, *finir-eie*, with the dropping of the syllable **-ab**, or- **av**, already noticed), see § 227.

245. IMPERATIVE MOOD.

Present imperative:

Popular Latin.	French.
fin-ịsc-e	*fin-is*
fin-ịsc-imus	*fin-iss-ons*
fin-ịsc-itis	*fin-iss-ez*

The plural is borrowed from the present indicative.

246. SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD.

1. Present subjunctive:

Popular Latin.	French.
fin-ịsc-am, fin-ịsc-a	(*que je*) *fin-iss-e*
fin-ịsc-as	(*que tu*) *fin-iss-es*
fin-ịsc-at	(*qu'il*) *fin-iss-et* (O.F.), *-iss-e*
fin-ịsc-amus	(*que nous*) *fin-iss-ons* (O.F.), *-iss-ions*
fin-ịsc-atis	(*que vous*) *fin-iss-ez* (O.F.), *-iss-iez*
fin-ịsc-ant	(*qu'ils*) *fin-iss-ent*

In the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and 3 plur., the final atonic **a** gave, according to rule, an **e** feminine (§ 47). For the 3 sing. the form *finisse*, without a final **t**, was already adopted in the 12th century. In the plural the terminations *-ons* and *-ez* (which corresponds exactly to **-ạtis**) became *-ions*, *-iez*, in the 16th century.

2. Imperfect subjunctive:

Classical Latin.	Pop. Latin.	French.
fin-i(v)-ịssem	**fin-ịsse**	(*que je*) *fin-isse*
fin-i(v)-ịsses	**fin-ịsses**	(*que tu*) *fin-isses*
fin-i(v)-ịsset	**fin-ịsset**	(*qu'il*) *fin-ist* (O.F.), *fin-ît*
fin-i(v)-issẹmus	**fin-ịssemus**	(*que nous*) *fin-issons* (O.F.), *fin-issions*
fin-i(v)-issẹtis	**fin-ịssetis**	(*que vous*) *fin-issiez*
fin-i(v)-ịssent	**fin-ịssent**	(*qu'ils*) *fin-issent*

The two i's of the syllable **-iviss-**, **-iiss-**, were fused into one in Popular Latin. Hence the French forms, which show the same peculiarities as the corresponding forms of the first conjugation (§ 233, 2).

247. INFINITIVE MOOD.

	Latin.	French.
Pres. inf.	**fin-ịre**	*fin-ir*
Pres. part.	**fin-isc-ẹntem**	*fin-iss-ant*
Gerund (abl.)	**fin-isc-ẹndo**	(*en*) *fin-iss-ant*
Past part. Masc. Sg. nom.	**fin-ịt-us**	*finiz* (O.F.)
" acc.	**fin-ịt-um**	*fin-it* (O.F.), *fin-i*
" Masc. Pl. nom.	**fin-ịt-i**	*fin-it* (O.F.)
" acc.	**fin-ịt-os**	*fin-iz* (O.F.), *fin-is*
" Fem. Sg. acc.	**fin-ịt-am**	*fin-ide* (O.F.), *fin-ie*
" Pl. acc.	**fin-ịt-as**	*fin-ides* (O.F.), *fin-ies*

248. THE IRREGULAR VERBS **bénir, fleurir, haïr, vêtir.**

(i) **Bénir.**—This verb, from the Latin **benedịcere**, equivalent to the Modern French '*bien dire*,' was in Old French *beneistre*, a form which, modified by analogy with *finir*, developed into the modern infinitive *bénir*, with the past participle *béni*. The primitive form of this past participle, *bénit*, fem. *bénite*, corresponding to the Latin **benedịctus**, has been preserved to this day in certain expressions sanctioned by custom. Until towards the end of the 17th century the language made no distinction between the two

forms. However, as the older participle was especially used in the popular expression *de l'eau bénite* (*holy water*), French grammarians have reserved *bénit, -ite*, for the literal sense [of being blessed by a priest, &c.], and *béni, -ie*, for the figurative sense; and this distinction has been adopted generally.

(ii) **Fleurir, florir.**—The former of these verbs is derived from the French noun *fleur*, the second from the Latin verb **florēre**. All the tenses of the latter have been lost, except the imperfect indicative *florissais*, &c., and the present participle *florissant*, which are only used in the figurative sense[1]. Grammarians have forbidden the use of *fleurir* for these two tenses. But their rule is quite futile, since it is perfectly good French to say: *La paix fleurit, fleurissait*, &c.

(iii) **Haïr** (derived from the German **hat-an** or **hat-jan**). —This verb, like all verbs derived from Germanic types in **-jan**, must have been originally inchoative. And, in fact, we find at a very early period the forms *haïssant, haïssez*. But in Old French the non-inchoative forms were in general preferred: present indicative, *je haz* or *je hé, tu hes, il het, nous haons, vous haez, ils heent*; imperfect indicative, *je haoie*, &c.; present subjunctive, *que je hé*, or *que je hace*, &c.; present participle, *haant*. This verb gradually became inchoative in all its forms, except the three persons singular of the present indicative. As late as the 17th century Vaugelas noted the existence of *nous hayons, vous hayez, ils haient*, and criticised the use of these forms.

(iv) **Vêtir.**—A similar change is now taking place in Modern French with regard to the verb *vêtir* and its compounds *dévêtir, revêtir*, &c., which belong to the dead conjugation (§ 249): present indicatives, *je vêts, tu vêts, il vêt; nous revêtons, vous revêtez, ils revêtent*; present

[1] [Of *to flourish*, derived from the French in this sense.]

participles: *vêtant, revêtant.* There is at the present day a strong tendency to include this verb in the second living conjugation. Lamartine [1790–1869] used the form *je vêts*, but also *il vêtissait.* Bossuet had already with more consistency used the forms: *je vêtis, nous vêtissons,* &c.

III. The Dead Conjugation.

249. THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—The dead conjugation contains a limited number of verbs which instead of increasing has always been diminishing: some of these verbs have been altogether lost, others have passed into the living conjugations. The infinitives of these verbs end in **-ir**, **-oir**, or **-re**.

Most of the verbs in **-ir** of this conjugation are on the whole regular, and are only distinguished from verbs of the 2nd living conjugation by the absence of the inchoative syllable **-iss-**: e.g. *partir, repentir, sentir, sortir,* &c. Consequently they are conjugated like *finir* in all those parts of the verb which do not take the interpolated syllable **-iss-**: *je partis, que je partisse, je partirai,* &c.

The verbs in **-oir**, which are not very numerous, are derived from verbs ending in Popular Latin in **-ēre**: *devoir*, **debēre**; *recevoir*, **recipēre**.

The verbs in **-re** form the majority in this conjugation, and are derived from Latin verbs in **-ĕre**.

Compared with verbs of the living conjugations all these verbs are irregular, although in most cases their irregularity results precisely from a regular adherence to the Latin types from which they are derived.

In the dead conjugation we have to study the preterite and past participle; the infinitive, the future and conditional; the present participle in its relation with the present and imperfect indicative, and with the present subjunctive; and, lastly, the apparent irregularities of the three present tenses.

250. PRETERITE AND PAST PARTICIPLE.—A great number of Latin verbs, belonging chiefly to the 2nd and 3rd conjugations, exhibited a peculiar change of the radical in the perfect indicative (corresponding to the French preterite) and past participle. The *tempus forte*, instead of being placed on the inflexion, as in **fin-i̯vi, fin-i̯tus,** was placed on a syllable of the radical itself:

Infinitive.	Perfect.	Past participle.
vertĕre	**verti**	**versus**
fundĕre	**fudi**	**fusus**
mordēre	**momordi**	**morsus**
tendĕre	**tetendi**	**tensus**
currĕre	**cucurri**	**cursus**
defendĕre	**defendi**	**defensus**
pendĕre	**pependi**	**pensus**
prēndĕre	**prēndi**	**prēnsus**
mittĕre	**misi**	**missus**
facĕre	**feci**	**factus**
rumpĕre	**rupi**	**ruptus**
vendĕre	**vendidi**	**vendĭtus**
legĕre	**lēgi**	**lectus**
vidēre	**vi̯di**	**vi̯sus**
ridēre	**ri̯si**	**ri̯sus**
veni̯re	**vēni**	**ventus**
pi̯ngĕre	**pi̯nxi**	**pi̯ctus**
u̯ngĕre	**u̯nxi**	**u̯nctus**
vi̯ncĕre	**vi̯ci**	**vi̯ctus**
ponĕre	**posui**	**posĭtus**
cooperi̯re	**cooperui**	**coopertus**
bi̯bĕre	**bi̯bi**	**bi̯bĭtus**
reci̯pĕre	**recēpi**	**receptus**
qua̯erere	[quaesi̯vi]	**qua̯esĭtus**
debēre	**dēbui**	**debĭtus**
di̯cĕre	**di̯xi**	**di̯ctus**

In a small number of these verbs we find the preterite

and past participle, or only one of them, preserved intact without undergoing any other than the regular phonetic changes:

Latin Perf.	French Pret.	Latin Part.	French Part.
fẹci	*je fis*	**fạctus**	*fait*
dịxi	*je dis*	**dịctus**	*dit*
rịsi	*je ris*	**rịsus**	*ris (ri)*
prẹndi (Pop. Lat. **prẹnsi, prẹsi**)	*je pris*	**prẹnsus**	*pris*
vịdi	*je vis*		
vẹni	*je vins*		
tẹnui	*je tins*		
dẹbui	*je dus*		
mịsi	*je mis*		
		mọrtuus, mọrtus	*mort*
		nạtus	*né*
		trạctus	*trait*
		ụnctus, &c.	*oint*, &c.
		offẹrtus	*offert*
		coopẹrtus	*couvert*

The above are what are called **strong preterites** and **strong past participles** in French. They are so called because in these the *tempus forte* is borne by the radical as it was in Latin, while in verbal forms like *je fin-ịs, fin-ị*, the *tempus forte* is borne by the termination; and these latter are called **weak preterites** and **weak past participles**[1].

[1] In Old French the only strong forms in the preterite were the 1 and 3 sing. and 3 plur. In the 1 and 2 plur. the *tempus forte*, corresponding to that of the Popular Latin forms (e.g. **fecịsti, fecịmus, fecịstis**), was borne by the termination. The preterite of *faire* was conjugated thus:

Strong forms: *je fis, il fit, ils firent.*

Weak forms: *tu fesis, nous fesimes, vous fesistes.*

Little by little the language reduced these forms to a single type; the weak forms were remodelled on the strong; *tu fis, nous fimes, vous fites*, being formed from *je fis, il fit, ils firent.*

At an early period the language endeavoured to simplify these multiple forms.

Preterites of the Dead Conjugation.—(i) For the perfects on the one hand, there already existed in Latin a termination **-ui**, used in a great number of verbs, mostly of the 2nd conjugation (**deb-ui, plac-ui,** &c.), and this termination was extended in Popular Latin to many other verbs. This final **-ui** combined with the preceding vowel of the radical, so that **debui** became **dui, placui** became **ploi,** &c. Hence a series of strong preterites which originally ended in French in **-ui** or **-oi**, later on in **-us**:

Infinitive.	Pres. Indic.	Preterite.
avoir	*j'ai*	*j'eus*
devoir	*je dois*	*je dus*
plaire	„ *plais*	„ *plus*
taire	„ *tais*	„ *tus*
savoir	„ *sais*	„ *sus*
pouvoir	„ *puis*	„ *pus*
lire	„ *lis*	„ *lus*
boire	„ *bois*	„ *bus*
paraître	„ *parais*	„ *parus*

The preterite derived from *debui* was conjugated thus: *je dui, tu deüs, il dut, nous deümes, vous deüstes, ils durent.* Analogy with the other persons possessing **-u** as a characteristic ending caused *dui* to be changed into *du,* later on *dus,* the *s* being added for the 1st person according to the general rule (§ 219). The preterite derived from *placui* was conjugated: *je ploi, tu ploüs, il plot, nous ploümes, vous ploüstes, ils plorent.* This preterite, like those of *avoir, savoir, pouvoir, taire,* was gradually assimilated to the preterites in **-us**, giving *je plus, j'eus,* &c.

By analogy, the preterite of certain other verbs was formed by the addition of this termination **-us** to the radical of the present participle; hence the weak preterites in **-us**:

Infinitive.	Pres. Part.	Preterite.
courir	*cour-ant*	*je cour*-us
valoir	*val-ant*	„ *val*-us
vouloir	*voul-ant*	„ *voul*-us

(ii) On the other hand, French adopted another termination, not less frequent in Latin, -ivi, -ii, which was used in the case of weak perfects, e. g. fin-ivi. It was added similarly to the radical of the present participle. Hence the many weak French preterites of which the 1 sing. formerly ended in -i and now ends in -is (§ 219):

Infinitive.	Pres. Part.	Preterite.
peindre	*peign-ant*	*je peign*-is
craindre	*craign-ant*	„ *craign*-is
rompre	*romp-ant*	„ *romp*-is
pendre	*pend-ant*	„ *pend*-is
rendre	*rend-ant*	„ *rend*-is
mordre	*mord-ant*	„ *mord*-is
vaincre	*vainqu-ant*	„ *vainqu*-is

Participles.—The past participles were remodelled in precisely the same way. A certain number of the original participles have, however, been preserved in modern French in the form of participial substantives, some masculine, but most of them feminine:

Masculine.		Feminine.	
morsum	*mors*	cursa	*course*
cursum	*cours*	rupta	*route*
pe(n)sum	(*peis*), *poids*	missa	*messe*
missus	*mets*	quaesita	*quête*
acquaesitus	*acquêt*	electa	*élite*
		posita	*poste*
		recepta	*recette*
		debita	*dette*
		rendita, vendita	*rente, vente*
		te(n)sa	*toise*
		perdita	*perte*

Some participles have even passed through a second strong form, taken from the infinitive: **tẹnsus, -a,** from **tẹndo,** was supplanted by **tẹndĭt-us, -a,** whence the feminine substantive *tente*; **pọsitus, pọ̆stus, -a,** from **pọno,** had as a doublet **pọnĭtus, pọnĭta,** whence the French *ponte.*

But apart from the survival in these substantive forms, in which they became, as it were, crystallized, the original participles have been lost. They have been replaced by newer forms created on the type of **imb-ụtus.** This new inflexion, **-ụtus,** reduced in French to **-u,** was added to the radical of the infinitive:

Latin infinitive.	French past participle.
val-ēre	*val*-**u**
pend-ēre	*pend*-**u**
curr-ĕre	*cour*-**u**
***vol-ēre**	*voul*-**u**

In many cases, the final consonant of the radical having dropped, the atonic vowel is elided before the **u** of the participle, so that we have monosyllabic participles, which resemble in form the strong participles:

Latin infinitive.	O.F. past part.	Mod.F. past part.
leg-ĕre	*le*ü	*l*u
bib-ĕre	*be*ü	*b*u
tac-ēre	*te*ü	*t*u
plac-ēre	*ple*ü	*pl*u
cogno-scĕre	*cone*ü	*con*(*n*)u
par-escere	*pare*ü	*par*u

By this process most of the verbs of the dead conjugation came to have forms in **-is** or **-us** for the preterite (the former being most in use), and the form in **-u** for the past participle[1].

[1] In some cases the termination in **-u** has invaded the territory of the participles in **-i,** the Latin **-ītum.** We say *vêtu,* instead of the O.F. *vesti*; and in popular Modern French *bouillu* (or *boulu*), *sentu,* are used for *bouilli, senti.*

Thus was formed the conjugation of *rendre*, which grammarians have made the type of the 4th French conjugation, simply because most of the strong verbs, as a matter of fact, conform to it.

251. INFINITIVE, FUTURE, AND CONDITIONAL.—We have seen how, in the formation of the future and conditional, certain verbs of the dead conjugation in **-ir** and **-oir** drop the vowels **i**, **oi**, as pretonic counterfinals (§ 48). Thus:

mourir	gives in the future	*mourrai*,	from	**mor(ī)raio**
acquérir	„	*acquerrai*,	„	**acquaer(e)raio**
mouvoir	„	*mouvrai*	„	**mov(ē)raio**
devoir	„	*devrai*	„	**deb(ē)raio**
recevoir	„	*recevrai*	„	**recip(e)raio**
avoir	„	*aurai*	„	**hab(ē)raio**
savoir	„	*saurai*	„	**sap(e)raio**
tenir	„	*ten(d)rai*, *tiendrai*	„	**ten(ē)raio**
venir	„	*ven(d)rai*, *viendrai*	„	**ven(ī)raio**
valoir	„	*vau(d)rai*	„	**val(ē)raio**
vouloir	„	*vou(d)rai*	„	**vol(e)raio**
falloir	„	*fau(d)rai*	„	**fall(e)raio**
ch(e)oir (O. F. *chedeir*)	„	*cherrai* (O. F. *chedrai*)	„	**cad(e)raio**
voir (O. F. *vedeir*)	„	*verrai* (O. F. *vedrai*)	„	**vid(e)raio**

Pourvoir only gives in the future *je pourvoirai*, a modern form; in Old French the form *pourverrai* was regularly used.

Amongst the verbs in **-ir** we must notice those in which the termination is preceded by an **l** *mouillée*; this was treated in Old French as a simple **l**:

saillir	gave a future	*sail-rai, sail-d-rai, saudrai.*
cueillir	„	*cueilrai, cueil-d-rai, cueudrai.*
bouillir	„	*bouilrai, bouil-d-rai, boudrai.*

These forms were lost in the period of Middle French, when the forms *saillerai, cueillerai,* were used; these latter are still in use at the present day, although in popular French the forms *saillirai, cueillirai, bouillirai,* formed on the infinitive, are tending to be accepted.

The other verbs of the dead conjugation in **-ir** (e. g. *partir*) form their future and conditional on the type of *finir*. The **i** should have dropped according to rule, as in the preceding verbs; but it has been saved by the fact that the group of consonants resulting from the elision would form a combination of sounds too difficult for pronunciation (e. g. *partrai*)[1].

252. PRESENT PARTICIPLE.—According to grammarians, the present and imperfect indicative, and the subjunctive tenses, are formed from the present participle: it would be more correct to say that these different tenses are formed from the same radical. Nevertheless, to simplify the matter, we may consider one of them as typical, and take as our type the present participle, for example.

The relations of the present participle with the imperfect indicative and the subjunctive are too obvious to need discussion. Thus we have:

Pres. participle.	Imp. indicative.	Pres. subjunctive.
paraiss-ant	*je paraiss-ais*	*que je paraiss-e*
dis-ant	*je dis-ais*	*que je dis-e*

We may, however, dwell with advantage on the relations between this participle and the singular persons of the present indicative. The **2** sing. of this latter tense has ended with an **-s**, and the **3** sing. with a **-t**, from the O.F. period, while since modern times the **1** sing. has ended with an **-s**. If the radical of the present participle itself ends with a consonant, the two consonants will meet.

[1] *Ouir*, from **audire**, now gives in the future *ouirai* (a form very rarely used). The O. F. form was *orrai*, earlier *odrai*, from **audiraio, audraio.**

We shall now consider how these consonant-groups are resolved.

(i) The radical of the present participle ends in **-s-**, or **-ss-**: *dis-ant, conduis-ant, fais-ant, plais-ant*; *connaiss-ant, paraiss-ant*, &c. In the 1 and 2 sing. the **-ss-** or **-sss-** of the radical and termination are reduced to a single **s**: *je lis, je connais*; *tu lis, tu dis, tu connais.* In the 3 sing. the **s** before the **t** of the termination is dropped according to the rules of Modern French phonetics and spelling; in cases when it is preceded by a vowel, a circumflex accent is placed over the **i**: *il dit, il lit*; *il plaît, il paraît.*

(ii) The termination **-ant** of the present participle is preceded by a vowel: *ri-ant, conclu-ant, fri-ant, fuy-ant, croy-ant.* The original forms in Old French for the present tense were, according to rule, *je ri, je croi, je conclu*, &c. (which became later on *je ris, je crois*, &c., § 219); *tu ris, tu crois*; *il rit, il croit.*

(iii) The termination **-ant** is preceded by **m** or **v**: *dorm-ant, buv-ant, écriv-ant, suiv-ant*, &c. These consonants are dropped, not only before the **-s** and **-t** of the 2 and 3 sing., according to phonetic rule (§ 100), but also in the 1 sing., where they were final. Thus we have not only *tu dors, tu vis*; *il dort, il vit*, &c., but *je dor, je vi, je doi, je sui*; which became later on *je dors, je vis, je dois, je suis* (§ 219), &c.

(iv) The termination **-ant** is preceded by either one or two dentals: *rend-ant, perd-ant, ment-ant, mett-ant, batt-ant, sent-ant.* In French pronunciation, on the one hand, we cannot have two consecutive final dentals; on the other hand, in Modern French spelling an effort is made to leave the verbal radical intact, whilst in Old French the spelling tended to follow the pronunciation. These two tendencies have resulted in uncertainty and incoherency in modern usage. We have: *je rends, tu rends, il rend*, and not *il rent*; but *je sens, tu sens, il sent*, and not *je sents, tu sents*;

—*je pars, tu pars, il part,* side by side with *je mets, tu mets, il met, je bats, tu bats, il bat,* &c. It is to be wished that the French Academy would adopt a uniform spelling in these cases.

(v) The termination **-ant** is preceded by an **n** *mouillée*: *craign-ant, joign-ant.* In Modern French the **n** *mouillée* can no longer be pronounced as a final; it has been replaced by a simple **n**. Hence we have *je crains, tu crains, il craint,* together with the forms *craignant, nous craignons,* &c.

(vi) The termination **-ant** is preceded by an **l** *mouillée.* This consonant has been transformed into the vowel **u**, and the **s** of the inflexion is written usually with an **x**; thus we have *val-ant*: *je vaux, tu vaux, il vaut*; *défaill-ant*: *je défaux* (or *je défaus*). In *bouill-ant, je bous,* the preservation of the **s** after **ou** in spelling is to be noticed.

Thus most of the apparent irregularities of the singular of the present indicative in the dead conjugation are explained by the general laws of French phonetics.

253. THE THREE PRESENT TENSES IN THE DEAD CONJUGATION.—We need only recall, by means of a table, the laws enounced in § 226 with regard to the incidence of the *tempus forte* on the vowel of the radical in the 1, 2, and 3 sing., and the consequent difference between the resulting French vowel in these persons and in the 1 and 2 plur. (when the vowel is free) of the three present tenses (indicative, imperative, and subjunctive):

	Infinitive.	Pres. Indic. 3 sing.	Pres. Indic. 1 plur.
a	*(ap)paroir*	*il (ap)pert*	*nous parons* (O.F.)
è	*quérir*	*je quiers*	*nous querons*
	tenir	*je tiens*	*nous tenons*
	venir	*je viens*	*nous venons*
é	*devoir*	*je dois*	*nous devons*
ò	*mourir*	*je meurs*	*nous mourons*
	pouvoir	*je peux*	*nous pouvons*

The four series of phonetic facts summarized above account for almost all the irregularities of the so-called *irregular* verbs.

254. PECULIARITIES OF CERTAIN VERBS.—To complete this study we have only to point out certain isolated facts, and firstly those in connexion with the two auxiliaries *être* and *avoir*.

(i) **ÊTRE.**—This verb shows interesting peculiarities in each of its moods and tenses.

1. Present indicative:

Classical Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
sụm	*sui, suis*	*suis*
ẹs	*es*	*es*
ẹst	*est*	*est*
sụmus	*soms, somes*	*sommes*
ẹstis	*estes*	*êtes*
sụnt	*sont*	*sont*

With regard to the **s** of the 1 sing., see § 219 (i). In the 2 sing. the Latin **ĕs** should have given phonetically *ies* (§ 51, 2). *Es* is doubtless due to the action of *est*, or else to its frequent use as an atonic form. Similarly **estis** ought to have given *ez*; the form *estes* is without doubt due to the action of *somes*, just as *dites, faites*[1], are due to the action of *dimes, faimes* (see § 254, vii). With regard to *soms* and *somes* see § 222.

2. Imperfect indicative:

From the Latin **ĕram, ĕras, ĕrat, erāmus, erātis, ĕrant,** were derived the O.F. forms *iere* (*ere*[2]), *ieres* (*eres*[2]), *ieret* (*eret*[2]), *erions, eriez, ierent* (*erent*[2]) This imperfect from the time of the Middle Ages gradually gave way to other forms based on the infinitive *estre*. From *estre* were derived

[1] In certain dialects of Eastern France we find analogous forms: *prentes* from **prẹnditis**, *rentes* from **rẹdditis**, *sentes* from **sẹquitis**.

[2] The atonic forms, less used.

esteie, estoie; *esteies, estoies*, &c., on the model of the O. F. *prometeie*, &c., from *prometre*; *teindeie*, &c., from *tendre*. Hence the Modern French imperfect *étais, étais, était, étions, étiez, étaient.*

3. Preterite:

Popular Latin.	Old French.	Mod. French.
fu̯i	*fui, fu*	*fus*
fu̯ɪsti	*fus*	*fus*
fu̯it	*fut*	*fut*
fu̯imus	*fumes, fusmes*	*fûmes*
fu̯ɪstis	*fustes*	*fûtes*
fu̯erunt	*furent*	*furent*

This preterite is the only strong preterite of Old French which was strong in all the persons: *tu fus, nous fumes, vous fustes* (cf. p. 361, note). The 1 sing. passed through the pronunciation **fu̯i** and **fü̯ɪ**; it then became *fu* under the action of the 2 and 3 sing. *fus* and *fut*. In the 16th century it was still written *fu*. It became *fus* later according to the general rule (§ 219).

4. Future and conditional:

From the Latin **ẹ̆ro, ẹ̆ris, ẹ̆rit, ẹ̆rimus, ẹ̆ritis, ẹ̆runt,** was derived the O.F. future, *ier, iers, iert, ermes, ertes, ierent.* Side by side with this classical future, **ero**, &c., there was in Popular Latin a future formed from the infinitive **essere** and the verb (*h*)*abeo*: **essera̯beo**, &c., from which came the O.F. *estrai.* The form of the future now used, *serai, seras*, has been in use since the 12th century; it is still unexplained.

5. Present subjunctive:

The forms *que je sois*, &c., have been taken, not from the Classical Latin **sim, sis, sit**, &c., &c., but from the Popular Latin **sɪam, sɪas, sɪat, sia̯mus, sia̯tis, sɪant.** Hence we have in Old French *seie* and *soie, seies* and *soies, seit*; *seiens,*

seiez, seient and *soient*, and in Modern French *sois, sois, soit*; *soyons, soyez, soient.*

6. Imperfect subjunctive:

The forms *que je fusse*, &c., were derived from the Latin pluperfect **fuissem**, &c.

7. Infinitive:

Être is taken from the Popular Latin **ęssĕre**, whence *estre, être.*

8. Gerund and participles:

These forms are derived from another verb, the verb **stąre**, which in Popular Latin had assumed the meaning of 'to find oneself.' Hence the gerund *estant*, later *étant*, from **stąndo**; the present participle *estant*, later *étant*, from **stąntem**; and the past participle, *esté*, later *été*, from **stątum**. The verb *être* is conjugated with the auxiliary *avoir* in the past tenses. This is an anomaly. In Italian the auxiliary used is the verb *essere*. The equivalent of the Italian *io sono stato* would normally be in French, not *j'ai été*, but *je suis été*. This more regular conjugation is sometimes found in Old French, and still survives in the popular language.

(ii) **AVOIR.** — The 1 sing. of the present indicative comes from the Popular Latin **(h)abio, aio**, which gave according to the rules of phonetics *ai* (§ 54, I. *b*). In accordance with its etymology the form *ai* has no final **s**; but in Popular French an **s** is often added, owing to the influence of the forms *je viens, je cours*, &c. With regard to *ont*, see § 224, footnote. The Latin perfect **hąbui**, &c., through the forms ***awi**, ***aui**, &c., was transformed into *oi, oüs, ot, oümes, oüstes, orent*, and thence into the modern (j')*eus*, tu *eus*, il *eut*, &c. (cf. p. 331, note). It was only from the 16th century that the old form of the future, *avrai*, became *aurai*, in consequence of the transformation of the **v** into the vowel **u**. In the same way *savrai* became *saurai*.

(iii) **COUDRE.**—*Je couds, tu couds, il coud.* This verb comes from the Classical Latin **consuere**, Popular Latin **cǫsvĕre, cǫsĕre**, which, according to phonetic rules, became *cosre, cosdre, cousdre, coudre.* The euphonic **d** of the infinitive was introduced in spelling into the singular of the present indicative without any good reason.

(iv) **MOUDRE.**—*Je mouds, tu mouds, il moud.* From the Latin **mǫlĕre, mǫlre**, *moldre, moudre.* This verb shows the same peculiarity in spelling as *coudre.*

(v) **SOUDRE** (obsolete, from **sǫlvĕre**) and its compounds: *absoudre, résoudre,* &c. The irregularity of these verbs lies in the existence of two forms of the past participle, the one in *-olu,* feminine *-olue,* from the Classical Latin **solutus**: *absolu, absolue, résolu, résolue*; the other in *-ous,* feminine *-oute,* from the Popular Latin **sǫltus**: *absous, absoute.* We have in reality, in the latter case, the masculine of an old participle in **s**, *assous, assousse,* together with the feminine of an old participle in **t**, *assout, assoute.* The **b** in these forms is due to the learned formation and is of later origin. (Cf. p. 277.)

(vi) **OFFRIR, SOUFFRIR, COUVRIR; CUEILLIR, SAILLIR**[1].—The present indicative of *offrir, souffrir,* and *couvrir* took a final **e** as a supporting vowel from the earliest times. The influence of analogy led to the use of the forms *je cueille, je saille,* instead of the O.F. *je cueil, je sail,* in which the radical of the verb was too much masked to resist this influence.

(vii) **DIRE (LIRE).**—The 2 plur. *dites* no more represents the Latin form **dicitis** than *faites* represents **facitis**, for these Latin forms would have given in French *diz* and *faiz.* The forms *dites* and *faites* are doubtless due to the action of the old forms of the 1 plur., *dimes* and *faimes.*

[1] Derived from the Pop. Lat. forms **offerire**; **sufferire**; ***coprire**; ***colligire**, ***colyir** (corresponding to the Classical forms **offerre, sufferre, cooperire, colligĕre**); and **salire**.

These were lost and replaced by the analogical forms *disons, faisons*; but *dites* and *faites* have survived[1]. In the present subjunctive of *dire* we find in Old French the forms *que je die, que tu dies, qu'ils dient*, &c., and in the present indicative *ils dient*, which were all derived according to rule from Latin. They are now replaced by forms due to analogy with other verbs, and taken either from the present participle or from the 1 and 2 plur. of the present indicative: *que je dise, que tu dises, qu'ils disent*, on the type of *disant, disons*, &c.

The subjunctive of *lire* was similarly remodelled from *lisant*.

(viii) **FAIRE (PLAIRE, TAIRE)**.—Derived from the Latin **facĕre**, and the Popular Latin **placĕre, tacĕre**. With regard to *faites* see (vii) supra. On the form *font* see § 224, footnote. The old subjunctive was written: *que je face, que tu faces, qu'il face, que nous facions, que vous faciez, qu'ils facent*. Similarly *plaire, taire*, gave the forms *que je place, que je tace*, &c. But whilst *que je face* has been preserved, the **c** being merely replaced in spelling by **ss**, the subjunctives of *plaire* and *taire* have been remodelled on the forms *plaisons, je plaisais, plaisant*; *taisons, je taisais, taisant*, and have become *que je plaise, que je taise*, &c.

We must notice in the future and conditional the forms *ferai* and *ferais*, with the weakening of *ai* into the *e* feminine. The *e* feminine occurs in reality also in the forms *faisant* and *faisons*, and Voltaire wrote in accordance with this pronunciation: *fesant, fesons*.

(ix) **VAINCRE** (O.F. *veintre*).—This verb possessed a series of forms regularly derived from the Latin **vincere**, but owing to analogy it has undergone change, and the consonant **c**, or **qu**, has displaced **t** throughout, even in

[1] *Redire* gives in the same way *redites*, and *refaire* the form *refaites*. The other compounds of *dire*, e.g. *médire*, &c., give *médises*, &c.

the 3 sing. of the present indicative, in which the O.F. *veint*, Mid. F. *vaint*, is now represented by *vainc*. Thus we have for the present indicative:

	Old French.	Mod. French.
je venc, vainc	*nous venquons, vainquons*	*je vainc, nous vainquons*
tu veins, vains	*vous venquez, vainquez*	*tu vaincs, vous vainquez*
il veint, vaint	*ils vainquent*	*il vainc, ils vainquent*

(x) **BRUIRE**[1].—In modern usage the pres. part. *bruyant* has been replaced by *bruissant*, and *ils bruyent* by *ils bruissent*; hence the substantive *bruissement*, &c.

(xi) **GÉSIR**.—The surviving forms are regularly derived from Latin forms: **jacēre**, *gésir*; **jacentem**, *gisant*; **jacet**, *il gît*.

(xii) **TENIR, VENIR**.—Derived from the Latin **tenere**, **venire**. To distinguish the old regular futures and conditionals, *tendrai, vendrai*, from the futures and conditionals of *tendre* and *vendre*, these have been changed in Modern French into *tiendrai, viendrai*, &c., modelled on *je tiens, je viens*, &c.

(xiii) **SEOIR**.—From the Latin **sedēre**. Cf. **vidēre**, *veoir, voir*. Present indicative: *il sied*, from **sedet**; present participle: *seyant*, and also *séant*, from **sedentem**. The various forms in **oi, ei, é, ié**, in the original conjugation of the verb were regularly derived from the different parts of the Latin verb. But in French each of them has been taken as a type of the radical, and hence the extraordinary inconsistencies of the modern conjugation:

Pres. indic.	*j'assois* and	*j'assieds*
	tu assois	*tu assieds*
	il assoit, &c.	*il assied*, &c.
Pres. part.	*assoyant* and	*asseyant*, &c.

[1] Of uncertain derivation.

(xiv) **CHOIR.**—Derived from Pop. Lat. **cădēre** (Class. Lat. **cadĕre**). — The new forms *il choit, il échoit,* &c., have been derived from the infinitive, the corresponding forms being formerly *il chet, il échet.* The present participle *chéant* has been preserved in *échéant, échéance,* and in *mes-cheant, méchant,* from which came the old word *mes-chéance, méchance,* which has produced the modern *méchanceté.*

(xv) **POUVOIR.**—Derived from the Pop. Lat. ***potēre** (Class. Lat. **posse**). The future *pourrai* has been derived from the Popular Latin **potere-abeo,** through the forms *podrai, porrai*; compare the old forms of the infinitive *podeir, poeir, pooir,* and the modern *pouvoir.*

CHAPTER IV

INDECLINABLE WORDS

255. The two kinds of indeclinable words.
I. Words of Relation.—256. Words of relation (adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions).—257. The form of French adverbs.—258. Adverbs derived from Latin adverbs.—259. Adverbs formed from adjectives.—260. Adverbs formed by composition.—261. Signification of adverbs.—262. The origins of French prepositions.—263. Prepositions derived from Latin prepositions.—264. Prepositions of French formation.—265. Signification of prepositions.—266. Conjunctions properly so called.—267. Conjunctive phrases.—268. Signification of conjunctions.
II. Interjections.—269. The Interjection.

255. The two kinds of indeclinable words.—Indeclinable words are divided into two classes :

(i) **Words of relation,** including *adverbs, prepositions,* and *conjunctions.*

(ii) **Interjections.**

I. Words of Relation.

256. WORDS OF RELATION (ADVERBS, PREPOSITIONS, AND CONJUNCTIONS). — The constituent terms of a statement may be connected in language by means of words which express general or abstract relations, and which are independent of other words, and consequently do not need to be inflected: these may be classed as adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions.

Words of this kind are related to one another in their origin and nature. Most French conjunctions are adverbs used absolutely; and the French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions, which originally were all adverbs.

257. THE FORM OF FRENCH ADVERBS.—French adverbs have been either derived from corresponding Latin adverbs or from Latin or French adjectives, or else have been formed by methods of word composition.

258. ADVERBS DERIVED FROM LATIN ADVERBS.—A certain number of French adverbs come from corresponding Latin adverbs:

Class. Latin.	Pop. Latin.	O. F.	Mod. F.
aliorsum	**aliorsu**	*aillors*	*ailleurs*
sursum	**susu**	*sus*	*sus*
deorsum	**deusu**	*jus*	—
hodie	**hodye**	*hui*	*hui* (in *aujourd'hui*)
ibi	**ivi**	*i*	*y*
inde	**ende**	*ent*	*en*
illac	**lac**	*la*	*là*
jam	**ja**	*ja*	*ja* (in *déjà*)
magis	**mages**	*mais*	*mais*
minus	**menos**	*meins*	*moins*
plus	**plus**	*plus*	*plus*

Class. Latin.	Pop. Latin.	O. F.	Mod. F.
non	non	*non*	*non, ne*
sic	sic	*si*	*si*
tantum	tantu	*tant*	*tant*
ubi	obe, ove	*o*	*où*

259. ADVERBS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES.—To this first series we must add a series of adjectives used absolutely, either in the singular or plural.

1. *Adverbs formed from singular adjectives*: *courir* **vite**, *voir* **clair**, *chanter* **faux**, *parler* **haut**, *sentir* **bon**, *couper* **court**, *aller* **droit**, &c[1]. In these we find the Latin tradition continued in French, since neuter adjectives were similarly used as adverbs in Latin.

2. *Adverbs formed from plural adjectives.* We find in Popular Latin, and later in French, adverbs which have been formed from the accusative plural, either masculine or feminine, of adjectives:

voluntarios	*volontiers*
certas	*certes*
primas	*primes* (O.F.)[2]
longas	*longes* (O.F.)[3], &c.

These adverbs are, as we see, characterized by the presence of a final **s**. This **s** was also the final of a certain number of Latin adverbs in constant use, such as **foris** (*outside*), **magis**, **plus**, &c., and of Latin neuter comparatives, used also as adverbs: **melius**, **pejus**, &c. It came consequently to be considered as the characteristic of adverbs, and its use was extended at a very early period to a number of other adverbs which, on etymological grounds, had no right to it: *jadis*, *tandis* (Lat. **jamdiu**, **tamdiu**), *guères* (Gothic **waigari**), *donques* (from *donc*), *avecques* (from *avuec*, *avec*, + *que*), &c.

[1] [Adverbs are formed similarly in English: to run *fast*, speak *loud*, smell *good*, cut *short*, go *straight*, &c. *Chanter faux* = *to sing out of tune.*]

[2] = in Mod. F. *en premier lieu.*

[3] = in Mod. F. *longtemps.*

260. ADVERBS FORMED BY COMPOSITION.—A large number of new adverbs have also been formed in French by composition.

Four distinct methods of formation have been used: (i) the combination of a preposition with a noun governed by it; (ii) the combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs; (iii) the combination of an adjective with a substantive (the resulting compound being used absolutely); (iv) the transformation of a phrase (generally an elliptical phrase) into an adverb.

(i) **Combination of a preposition with a noun (substantive or adjective) governed by it.**—In Latin we already find this kind of composition: **ex-tempore**, that is, 'from the time'; **illico** (from **illo loco**), 'in that place,' i. e. 'on the spot.' French has created new compounds on this type, the constituent elements of some of which have merged in a single word so that they look like simple adverbs: *alentour, debout*; while in other cases the two elements have been left separate: *à cette heure, à la fois, à présent, à tort, à raison.*

We must draw special attention to:

(*a*) Adverbs of this kind in which the noun is an adjective, whether taken substantively or not: *à droite, à gauche, à la ronde, à la dérobée* (=*secretly*), *à la prussienne.*

(*b*) Locutions formed by the combination of a preposition with a verbal compound word: *à tue-tête, à saute-mouton, d'arrache-pied*[1], &c.

(*c*) Compounds formed by the union of the preposition **à** with substantives in **-ons** derived from verbal radicals: *à tâtons, à reculons* (and O. F. *à genouillons,* Mod. F. *en s'agenouillant, kneeling*; *à croppetons,* Mod. F. *en s'accroupissant, crouching*).

(*d*) Compounds formed of two nouns joined by the preposition **à**. In these compounds sometimes the pre-

[1] *Crier à tue-tête* = to shout so as to split any one's ears; *jouer à saute-mouton* = *to play leap-frog*; *travailler d'arrache-pied* = *to work unceasingly.*

position **à** is equivalent to *à côté de* (i. e. *alongside*): *corps à corps, tête à tête, bras à bras, nez à nez.* Sometimes it implies *direction*, and in this case the first noun was originally preceded by the preposition **de**: *de pas à pas, de peu à peu, de mot à mot* (i. e. *going from one step to the next step, from one word to the next word*), &c.; which by ellipsis led to: *peu à peu, pas à pas, mot à mot, quatre à quatre, brin à brin, goutte à goutte.*

(*e*) In this category must be placed the two adverbs *avec* and *or*. (1) *Avec* is formed of *av* and of *ec*, *av* representing the Latin **ap**(ud), and *ec* (formerly *uec*) representing the Latin **hoc**. *Avec* signifies literally 'with that,' and is therefore an adverb. It became a preposition also, at an early period, but has preserved its primitive function as an adverb down to the present day[1].

(2) *Or, ore,* or *ors, ores.*—This adverb is derived from the Latin compound **ad-horam** = *at the hour.* In Popular Latin this gave **ad ora, aora**; and the resulting diphthong **ao** became an open **ò**: *òre.* The plural **adoras** gave *ores.* In both the singular *ore* and the plural *ores* the *e* was sometimes dropped, the forms *or, ors,* being also used. Modern French has kept the form *or* and dropped *ors,* except in the form *lors,* which seems to be formed from the article *le* + *ors. Lors* has been lengthened by the addition of an **a**: *alors* (= *à lors*; we find in Old French *ilors*).

(ii) **Combination of two or more prepositions or adverbs.**—In Classical Latin there already existed the adverb **sub-inde**, which has become the French *souvent,* and in Popular Latin **ab-ante**, which has become the French *avant.* Similarly, *dont* comes from **de unde**; *jusque* from **de usque**; *ensemble* from **in simul.** We may quote also later compounds, of which the process of formation is more apparent:

[1] The adverbial use is shown in

Il avait dans la terre une somme enfouie
Son cœur *avec.* (La Fontaine, *Fables,* iv, 20.)

And in familiar language: il a pris mes livres et est parti *avec.*

arrière (from *à* and *rière*[1]), *dessus, par-dessus, dessous, par-dessous, paravant, auparavant, d'or en avant* (which has become *dorénavant*), *désormais* (= *dès-or-mais*), *jamais.*

(iii) **Combination of an adjective with a substantive.**—In Classical Latin we have **hodie** = *hoc die*, 'this day'; **magno opere**, 'with great work,' i. e. 'much.'

On this type Old French created the adverbs *oan* (*this year*), *buer, mar* (Lat. **bona hora, mala hora**), and Modern French has preserved or created the adverbs and adverbial phrases *beaucoup, tous jours* (now *toujours*), *autrefois, une fois, quelquefois, toutefois* (formerly *toutes voies*), *quelque part, nulle part*, &c.

In this category must also be placed the adverbs in -ment, formed from a feminine adjective and the suffix -ment, which represents the Latin ablative **mente** (from the feminine noun **mens**, meaning *mind*, and, by extension, *manner*), e.g. *bonnement* is derived from **bona mente**, which means literally 'in a good mind, in a good manner.' Originally the substantive was not merged with the adjective, and we find, in Old French, instances of two adverbs normally ending in -ment following one another, in which the termination -ment is omitted from the first adverb: *e humle et dulcement* (Chanson de Roland, l. 1163); as we should still say in French: *d'une humble et douce manière.*

Notes.—(1) The adjective is feminine in form. Several cases must be distinguished under this head:

(*a*) In certain adjectives the feminine forms were indistinguishable in Old French from the masculine: *fort, grand, tel, mortel, gentil, constant*, &c. (§ 180). The feminines of such adjectives as constituent parts of adverbs in -ment have been mostly remodelled according to modern rules. Thus we have:

O. F.	Mod. F.
forment	*fortement*
granment	*grandement*

[1] = Eng. *rear.*

O. F.	Mod. F.
mortelment	*mortellement*
griefment	*grièvement*
loyalment, loyaument	*loyalement*

But traces of the old formation of the feminine have been preserved in the following words: (1) *communément*, from the O. F. *communelment, communel* being another form of *communal*; (2) *gentiment* for *gentilment*, from *gentil*, an adjective, of which the masculine and feminine were identical; and also (3) in the adverbs which end in **-amment** and **-emment.** The feminine forms of *constant, prudent*, were also *constant, prudent.* The original adverbs must have been *constantment, prudentment*, &c., from which were derived *constan-ment, pruden-ment*, &c., and later on *constamment, prudemment*, &c. In Modern French almost all adverbs taken from adjectives in **-ant**, or **-ent**, remain faithful to this mode of formation. However, as early as the Middle Ages, and especially in the 15th and 16th centuries, literary men tried to restore to the adjective the feminine form it had when used separately, and to introduce *prudentement, constantement, diligentement*, &c. This attempt did not succeed, and the archaic feminine of the adjective persisted in use as a constituent part of the corresponding adverb, although it had become obsolete when used separately. Of this attempt traces have remained in *présentement, véhémentement* (§ 181, ii).

(*b*) The adjectives above mentioned must not be confused with derivatives from Latin adjectives in **-entus, -enta,** which had distinct masculine and feminine forms:

lentus	**lenta**	*lent*	*lente*
opulentus	**opulenta**	*opulent*	*opulente*
violentus	**violenta**	*violent*	*violente*

Lentement, the adverb from *lent*, is regular (Lat. **lentamente**). The adverbs from *opulent* and *violent* are irregular and were formed by analogy with the adverbs in **-amment**

and **-emment**: *opulemment, violemment,* instead of *opulentement, violentement,* being adopted.

(2) In some cases the adjective is, or rather appears to be, masculine; this seldom occurs except in Modern French. *Aveuglément, commodément, conformément, opiniâtrément,* are really derived, not from the corresponding adjectives *aveugle, commode,* &c., but from feminine past participles: *aveuglée, (ac)commodée, conformée, opiniâtrée.* They lost the final **e** marking the feminine gender, just as the substantive *agréement* became *agrément.* Similarly, *joliement, gaiement, duement,* have become *joliment, gaîment, dûment,* just as the substantives *châtiement, paiement, éternuement,* have become *châtiment, paîment, éternûment.*

Some adverbs have been affected by adverbs similar in sound. Thus *immensément* was formed on the model of *sensément,* and *uniformément* and *énormément* were formed on that of *conformément.*

Finally, others have been affected by the Latin adverbs ending with the vowel **ē**: *confus, confuse*; *diffus, diffuse*; *exprès, expresse,* have given *confusément, diffusément, expressément* (instead of *confusement, diffusement, expressement*), because of the Latin adverbs **confusē, diffusē, expressē.** Similarly the adverb *impunément* has been formed from the Latin **impunē,** and has replaced the old adverb *impuniement,* corresponding to the feminine *impunie.*

This formation of adverbs in **-ment** has developed extraordinarily in French. The suffix **-ment** has even been added to some adverbs: *comment* is the adverb *com* (Lat. **cum**) + **-ment**; *quasiment* is the adverb **quasi** + **-ment.**

(iv) **Adverbs formed from phrases.**—Some adverbs have been formed by an elliptic combination of words forming a statement.

Naguère, from *n'a guère,* which is equivalent to *il n'y a pas beaucoup de temps.*

Piéça, an O.F. adverb, is equivalent to *il y a pièce de temps, il y a un bout de temps.*

Peut-être is equivalent to *cela peut être, il peut être.* Hence the use of the conjunction *que* in *peut-être qu'il a raison.* There should by rights be no hyphen in *peut-être.* [Cf. the Eng. *may be.*]

Cependant is equivalent to *cela pendant, la chose étant en suspens* (*the matter pending*).

Maintenant is equivalent to *la main tenant, pendant que la main tient.*

Ce nonobstant, and the still more elliptical *nonobstant,* are equivalent to *cela n'étant pas obstant, ne faisant pas obstacle.* [Cf. the parallel use of the English equivalent *notwithstanding.*]

We must also mention *oui* and *nenni.*

These two adverbs are formed from **o + il** and **non + il** respectively. It was for a long time thought that *oil* and *nennil,* which became *oui* and *nenni,* were formed from **hoc illud** = 'that is it' and from **non illud,** 'it is not it.' The explanation is erroneous. In Old French the answer used to an interrogation was either *o* (Lat. **hoc**) or *non* (of which the atonic form was *nen*), or else these adverbs followed by the subject of the verb (understood). To the questions:

1. *Ai-je bien fait?*	corresponded the answers	*o tu*	*nen tu*
2. *As-tu bien fait?*	,,	*o je*	*nen je*
3. *A-t-il bien fait?*	,,	*o il*	*nen il*
4. *A-t-elle bien fait?*	,,	*o ele*	*nen ele*
5. *Avons-nous bien fait?*	,,	*o vos*	*nen vos*
6. *Avez-vous bien fait?*	,,	*o nos*	*nen nos*
7. *Ont-ils bien fait?*	,,	*o il*	*nen il*
8. *Ont-elles bien fait?*	,,	*o elles*	*nen elles*

Of these eight forms of reply, the 3rd and the 7th, which were identical in form, were most used. They gradually lost their etymological signification and became the signs of affirmation or negation pure and simple.

261. SIGNIFICATION OF ADVERBS.—The adverb is used to limit the meaning of the verb by expressing the circumstances of the action denoted by the verb. Adverbs may be divided into several classes according to the nature of these circumstances.

Adverbs of place: *en, y, ici, là, où, en haut, en bas, ailleurs, partout*, &c.

Adverbs of time: *hier, demain, alors, enfin, jamais, souvent*, &c.

Adverbs of manner: *ainsi, bien, mal, ensemble*, &c.

Among the adverbs of manner are included the **adverbs of quantity**: *combien, très, presque, tout, tant, plus, moins*, &c.

We may consider as adverbs of quantity the adverbs of indefinite quantity used absolutely: *beaucoup, peu, trop, assez*, &c.

Adverbs of mode[1]: *oui, non, certes, vraiment, peut-être, nécessairement*, &c.

We must remember that some adverbs are also used as pronouns: *en, y, dont* (Book IV, §§ 399, 413).

262. THE ORIGINS OF FRENCH PREPOSITIONS.—French prepositions have been either derived from corresponding Latin prepositions or formed by composition.

263. PREPOSITIONS DERIVED FROM LATIN PREPOSITIONS.—The majority of French prepositions are derived from Latin prepositions:

Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.
ad	*à*	per	*par*
contra	*contre*	pro	*pour*
de	*de*	sine	*sans*
in	*en*	versus	*vers*
inter	*entre*	super	*sur*
ultra	*outre*		

[1 Sometimes called *adverbs of affirmation and negation.*]

Some are derived from Latin adverbs, which had previously become prepositions:

subtus	*sous*	**foris**	*fors* and *hors*
retro	*rière*	**pressum**	*près*

In Gallo-Romanic new prepositions were formed from Latin substantives: *chez* from **casam** (= *in the house of*), *lez* from **latus** (*side, by the side of, beside*).

264. Prepositions of French formation.—In French there exist compound prepositions formed from either two prepositions, or an adverb preceded by a preposition: *devers, envers, dessus, dessous, arrière, derrière, depuis, après.*

Others have been formed from prepositions followed by an object case of either an adjective or a pronoun: e.g. *dès*, from the Latin **de ipso**; *parmi*, which replaced the old adverb *enmi*, from the Latin **in medio** (*in the middle*).

Prepositions have also been created from present or past participles: *durant, pendant, suivant, touchant, moyennant*; *attendu, excepté, supposé*, &c.; *rez* (Latin **rasus**), past participle of the O. F. verb *rére* (Mod. F. *raser*), which signifies 'on a level with': *rez pied, rez terre. Malgré* is composed of an adjective and a substantive; *malgré lui* is equivalent to *au mauvais gré de lui* (*to his dissatisfaction*). This primitive sense is preserved in the locution *malgré qu'il en ait* = 'whatever dissatisfaction he may have therefrom,' and, hence, *in spite of him.*

We must distinguish, from the formations just dealt with, the **prepositional phrases** formed from either adverbs or substantives followed by the preposition **de** or **à**: *loin de, près de, proche de, au delà de, en dedans de, auprès de, au-dessus de*; *à cause de, en dépit de, en face de, vis-à-vis de*; and, with the ellipsis of the preposition, *vis-à-vis, en face*[1].

[1] E.g. *vis-à-vis son frère*; *en face la maison.* These expressions are used, but are regarded as inelegant.

Prepositions, whether simple or compound (with the exception of the prepositional phrases), cannot be essentially distinguished from adverbs. Both in the past and in the present the language has failed to make the distinction, especially in the case of compound adverbs and of prepositions formed of two or more particles. At the present time *dessus, dessous, dehors, dedans,* are adverbs. But they were formerly both adverbs and prepositions, and even at the present day they retain their prepositional use when they are combined with and preceded by another preposition: *par dessus la table, de dessous la table, par dedans la maison, de dehors les murs.*

265. Signification of prepositions.—Prepositions denote certain general relations between two terms called *the antecedent* and *the consequent.* They denote relations of—

(1) **place** and **direction**: *à, de, vers, sur, en, dans, chez,* &c.

(2) **time** and **duration**: *à, avant, depuis, après, pendant,* &c.

(3) **cause, means,** or **purpose**: *à, de, par, pour,* &c.

(4) **manner**: *à, selon, suivant, d'après, de,* &c.

The prepositions *à* and *de* still denote, besides the relations of place, time, manner, &c., those relations which the Latin declension expressed by means of the genitive, dative, and ablative cases.

266. Conjunctions properly so called.—The true conjunctions are:

Latin.	French.	Latin.	French.
et	*et*	quod, quid	*que*
nec	*ni*	quando	*quand*
aut	*ou*	si	*si*

The other simple and compound conjunctions, *mais, comme, aussi, ainsi, cependant, pourtant,* &c., are only adverbs used absolutely.

267. CONJUNCTIVE PHRASES.—French uses **conjunctive phrases.** These are formed in two ways: by combining the simple conjunction *que* either (1) with a preposition, or (2) with a noun.

(i) *Preposition + que.*—In Old French this kind of conjunction was formed by the combined use of a preposition, the demonstrative *ce* governed by the preposition, and the conjunction *que*: *à ce que, avant ce que, après ce que, depuis ce que, pour ce que, par ce que, jusqu'à ce que, puis ce que, sans ce que,* &c.

From some of these phrases the pronoun has been dropped at a more or less recent period: *avant que, après que, depuis que, pour que* (blamed by Vaugelas), *puisque.*

Ce has been preserved in the other phrases. It is difficult to say why it has been preserved in one case and dropped in another.

(ii) The remaining conjunctive phrases are merely prepositional phrases in which the *de* has been replaced by *que*: *à cause de, à cause que*; *afin de, afin que.*

268. SIGNIFICATION OF CONJUNCTIONS.—Conjunctions join two statements, forming either (1) a **co-ordinating link,** which connects statements independent of one another, e.g. *et, ou, ni*; or (2) a **subordinating link,** which makes a statement considered as accessory depend on another statement considered as the principal statement, e.g. *que* and the *conjunctive phrases.*

II. Interjections.

269. THE INTERJECTION.—The **interjection** is not, properly speaking, a part of speech. It is not a word, as it expresses no idea. It is a *cry* expressing some sudden emotion: e.g. *ah, aïe, ha, bah, ouais, hé, fi, ho, ô, oh.*

The majority of French interjections have been derived from Latin. French has created others, either—

(1) by adding to certain existing interjections words having a proper meaning: *hola* = *ho* + *là*; *hélas*, in O.F. *hé! las* = *hé!* + *las* (*weary*) in the masculine, *hé! lasse*, in the feminine, the adjective being not yet fused with the interjection: *Ha! las! dist-il cons or sui engeignies* (Mod. F. *Hé, malheureux, dit-il, comme maintenant* [*je*] *suis trompé. Couronnement Louis*, l. 90); *Ha, fet elle, lasse chétive* (Mod. F. *He! fait-elle, malheureuse prisonnière. Dolopathos*, l. 4024); or

(2) by using as interjections certain parts of speech (nouns, verbs, or adverbs): *ciel, dieu, dame* (Lat. domine), *diable, diantre, bon, ferme, bien, çà, or çà, allons, tiens, va da* (from *dia*, a contraction from *di* and *va*, the imperatives of *dire* and *aller*), *aga* (now obsolete, an abbreviation for the O.F. *agare*, the imperative of the O.F. verb *agarer* = *to look*), &c.

INDEX OF WORDS AND PHRASES

In compiling the Index of Words and Phrases the following principles have been followed as closely as possible:—

1. Compound words joined by a hyphen have been treated as simple words with regard to alphabetical order. Compound phrases not so united have been classed either under the first component only: thus 'à cause de' is given under 'à'; or else, but rarely, under both the principal components: thus 'à croppetons' is given both under 'à' and 'croppetons.'

2. Parts of verbs have in general been classed under the heading of the infinitive; but where they are of special phonetic or syntactic interest they are given separately, usually with a reference to the infinitive in its *modern* form, although this has been omitted occasionally as unnecessary.

3. Where reference is given to plurals or feminine forms of adjectives and substantives, these are dealt with in the text.

4. Homonyms are distinguished in general by reference to their Latin etymologies, printed in thick type, or to their grammatical functions or modern equivalents, or else by means of English translations.

5. French words and suffixes are printed in Roman type; English in italics; Latin in thick type.

6. A dagger (†) is placed before obsolete forms and expressions. The dagger only applies to the word or phrase *immediately* in front of which it is placed.

A.

a (*letter*), 263.
à, 216, 378–9, 386.
à cause de, 385.
à cause que, 387.
à ce que, 387.
à cette heure, 378.
à côté de, 379.
†à croppetons, 378.
à droite, 378.
à gauche, 378.
†à genouillons, 378.
à la dérobée, 378.
à la fois, 378.
à la prussienne, 378.
à la ronde, 378.
à présent, 378.
à raison, 378.
à reculons, 378.
à saute-mouton, 378.
à tâtons, 378.
à tort, 378.
à tue-tête, 378.
abeille, 255.
abîme, 235.
†absols, -z, -t, 277[2], 372.
absoudre (*and pts. of*), 277, 372.
absous, -te, 277, 372.
acacia, 240.
accommodée, 382.
accueil, 261.
acheter (*pts. of*), 350.
acquérir (*and pts. of*), 363, 365.
†acquêt, 363.
admirer, *see* †amirer.
affaire, 239.
afin de, 387; afin que, 387.
†aga! (= gare!), 388.
†agare! (= gare!), 388.
†agarer (= regarder), 388.
âge, 235.
†agréement, 382.
agrément, 382.
ah! 387.
ai (*pt. of* avoir), 324.
aide, 234, 247.
aider (*and pts. of*), 336, 348.
†aidier (= aider, *pts. of*), 336, 348.
aïe! 387.
aïeul, -e, 257, 260.
†aieus, 260.
aïeux, 257, 260 (*see also* †aieus).
aigle, 249.
aigre, -s, 241, 267, 272.
aigreur, 241.
aigu, -ë, 274.
ail, -s, aulx, 261.
ailleurs, 376; 384.
†aillors, 376.
†aim, -s, -et (*pts. of* aimer), 334.
aimer, 337; (*pts. of*), 249, 328, 334, 349, 353, 355.
aime-t-il (*pt. of* aimer), 328.
ainsi, 384, 386.
aise, 234.
†aiu (*pt. of* aider), 336.
†al (= au), 299, 300.
alambic, 191.
alarme, 239.
alentour, 378.
aller (*and pts. of*), 322, 325[1], 331[1], 351–2, 388.
aller droit, 377.
allons! 388.
alors, 379, 384.
Alpes, 232.
†alque (= aliquem), 206, 209.
†als (= aux), 300.
†altre (= autre), -s, 202, 207, 267.
†altrui, 207.
†amable, -s (= aimable), 267.
amalgame, 249.
amant, 334.
amarante, 243.
amatrice, 250.
ambassadeur, -adrice, 254.
†ambasseor (*repl. by* ambassadeur), 254.
†amé, -ez, -ons (= aimé, &c.), 334.
amer, amère (= amarum, -a), 279.
†amer (= amare, aimer), *and pts. of*, 334.
amical, -e, -aux, 280, 282.
†amirer (= admirer), 316.
ammoniac, 273.
ammoniaque, 273.
amont, 378.
†amor, -s, 222.
amour, -s, 188, 232, 249 (*see also* †amor); l'Amour, 184, 188, 232.
amulette, 235.
anagramme, 235.
ancêtre, 224, 245.
ancien, -ne, 278.

ancienneté, 232.
Andorre, 189.
Anglais, -e, 188.
Angleterre, 184, 188, 232.
anglican, -e, 278.
antérieur, -e, 279.
apathie, 191.
†apel, 218.
†apeler, 218.
apostume, 235.
†apparail, 261.
apparaux, 261.
appareil, 261.
apparoir (*and pts. of*), 333, 368.
appas (*pl. of* appât), 224, 225.
appât, 225.
appendice, 240.
appert (*pt. of* apparoir), 333, 368.
†appoyez, -ons (*pts. of* appuyer), 335.
apprenti, -s, 257–8.
†apprentif (= apprenti), 257, 259.
appuyer (*pts. of*), 335.
après (*adv., prep., and prefix*), 241; 385–6; d'après, 386; †après ce que = après que, 387; après que, 387.
après-dînée, 239, 241.
après-dîner, 240.
après-midi, 240, 241.
après-soupée, 239, 241.
après-souper, 240.
arabe, 188.
arbre, 189, 190.
†arcevesques (= archevêque), 299.
archevêché, 248.
archidiaconé, 248.
ardeur, 248.
aristocratie, 191.
armistice, 235.
(d')arrache-pied, 378.
arrière (*adv. and prep.*), 380, 385.
art, 240.
†as (= aux), 300.
asseoir (*pts. of*), 374.
assez, 193, 284, 384.
†assous, -se, †assout, -e (*pts. of* absoudre), 372.
astral, 282.
attendu, 385.
au, 300 (*see also* à, †al).
au delà de, 385.
aucun, 206, 207.
†Audain, 222 *note*.
Aude, 222 *note*.
au-dessus de, 385.
aujourd'hui, 376.
aulx (*pl. of* ail), 261.
auparavant, 380.
auprès de, 385.
auquel, *see* lequel.
aurai, &c. (*pts. of* avoir), 322, 324, 365, 371.
Aurillac, 189.
aurore, 243.
aussi, 386.
autant, 193.
auteur, 250.
automne, 235, 242.
autre, 202, 206, 207 (*see also* †altre).
autre chose, 246.
autrefois, 380.
autrui, 207.
aux, 300.
†av (= apud), 308.
avant (*adv. and prep.*), 379, 386; †avant ce que, 387; avant que, 387.
avec, 308, 377, 379.
†avecques (= avec), 377.
†aveie (*pt. of* avoir), 354[2].
aveugle, 382.
aveuglée, 382.
aveuglément, 382.
†avoc (= avec), 308.
†avoie (*pt. of* avoir), 354[2].
avoir, 322, 324, 331[1], 340, 343; (*pts. of*), 319, 320, 322–4, 354[2], 362, 365, 371.
avrai (*pt. of* avoir), 322, 371.
†avuec (= avec), 377.

B.

b (*letter*), 263.
bah! 388.
bail (*pl.* baux), 260.
bailleresse, 253.
bailli, -s, 257–8 (*see also* †baillif).
†baillif (= bailli), 257, 259.
bal, 260.
†balanz (= balance, *vb.*), 325[1].
baron, -s, 220.
bas, -se, 276.
battre (*pts. of*), 367–8.
béant, 218.
beau (beaux, bel, belle), 257, 266, 280–1 (*see also* bel).

beaucoup, 192–3, 284, 380.
†beaus, 257.
bel, -le, †bels, 257, 274, 280 (*see also* beau).
bélier, 255.
Bellefont, 269.
Belle-Isle, 189.
Belleville, 189.
†bellezour, 283.
†bels (= beaux), 257.
†beneistre (*and pts. of*) (= bénir), 357.
béni, -e, 357–8.
bénin, -igne, 279.
bénir (*and pts. of*), 357–8.
bénit, -e, 357–8.
†ber, -s (= baron), 220–1.
besoigneux, 279.
besoin, 279.
bestial, 261.
bestiaux, 261.
bétail, 261.
†beu (= bu, *pt. of* boire), 364.
biche, 255.
bien (*adv.*), 193, 284–5, 384; (*as interjection*), 388.
bigot, -e, 275.
bijou, -x, 262.
billion, 200.
blé, -s, 192, 242.
bleu, -s, 281.
bœuf, -s, 255, 258, 275.
boire (*pts. of*), 324, 362, 364, 367.
bois, 191.
bon, -ne, 266, 268, 271, 278; (*as adv.*), 377. (*See also* †bone.)
bon! 388.
†bone, -s (= bonne), 267–8, 271.
Bonnefont, 269.
bonnement, 380.
Bonneval, 271.
bonté, -s, 190 (*see also* †bontet).
†bontet, -s, 222, 257.
†bontez (= bontés), 222, 257.
borgne, -sse, 252.
bouc, 255.
†boudrai (*pt. of* bouillir), 365.
†bouildrait, †bouilrai (*pts. of* bouillir), 365.
bouillir (*and pts. of*), 343, 364[1], 365, 368.
boulu (*pop.* = bouilli), 364[1].
bourdon, 255.
Bourgogne, 184.
bous (*pt. of* bouillir), 368.
boute-roue, 239.
bras, 222; bras à bras, 379.
†braz, 222.
brebis, 243, 255.
bref, brève, 274–5.
†brefve, 275.
brève, 275 (*see also* bref).
brièvе, 271.
brigande, 250.
brin à brin, 379.
broussaille, 227.
bru, 251.
bruire (*and pts. of*), 374.
bruissant (*pt. of* bruire), 374.
bruissement, 374.
brutal, -aux, 282.
brute (*adj.*), 275.
†bruyant (*pt. of* bruire), 374.
bu (*pt. of* boire), 364.
†buer (= bona hora), 380.
bulle, 247.
†buveor, -s, 220.
†buvère, 220.
buveur, 220[1].

C.

ça (= cela), 309.
çà (= ecchac, *adv.*), 309; (*used as interj.*), çà! or çà! 388.
cacheter (*pts. of*), 350.
caduc, -uque, 273.
caillou, 262.
cal, 260.
camélia, 240.
campagne, 251.
cantatrice, 254.
cantinier, 250[3].
cap, 189.
capitale (*subs. and adj.*), 180.
car, 263.
cardinal (*adj.*), 193.
carême, 233.
carnaval, 260.
cartilage, 240.
cartouche, 247.
Caucase, 189.
ce *family, derived from* ecceiste, &c., *dem. pron.* (*including forms in* †icest-, †cest-, †cist-), 308–13.
ce (= ecchoc, *neut. pron.*), 309–11, 387.
ce nonobstant, 383.
ceci, 309.

céder (*and pts. of*), 350–2.
cel *family* (= ecceillum, &c., *including* †icel, †iceux, †cel, celui; †cel, celle; ceux, †cil, &c.), 308–9, 311–3.
†cel, -s, 311–3.
cela, 309, 310.
†cele, 311.
†celei, 311.
†celi, 311.
celle(-s)-ci, 312, 313.
celle(-s)-là, 312, 313.
celui, *see* cel *family*.
celui-ci, 181, 312, 313.
celui-là, 181, 312, 313.
cent, -s, 197; deux, &c. cents, 199.
centaine, -s, 205[2].
centième, 204.
cependant, 383, 386.
†cerchier (= chercher), 348.
cercueil, 261.
cerf, 255–7.
cerise, 243.
†cers (= cerfs), 257.
certain, -s, -e, -es, 209.
certes, 377, 384.
ces, *see* ce *family*.
†cest *family*, *see* ce *family*.
†cestei, 310.
†cesti, 309, 310.
†cestui, 309–13.
†cestui-ci, 313.
†cestui-là, 313.
cet, -tte, *see* ce *family*.
†cette(-s)-ci, 312–3.
†cette(-s)-là, 312–3.
†cettui, 310, 312.
†cettuy-ci, 312, 313.
†ceus (= ceux), 312.
ceux, 311, 312.
ceux-ci (*pl. of* celui-ci), 312.
ceux-là (*pl. of* celui-là), 312.
†cez (= ces), 309, 310.
chacal, 260.
chacun, -e, 206–7, 209.
chaleur, 241.
chameau, -elle, 255.
champ, 231.
Champagne, 184.
†changier (= changer *and pts. of*), 348.
chanoine, -sse, 252.
†(je) chant, &c., 326.
(il) chante, ils chantent, 216.
(j'ai) chanté, 348.
†chanteeur (= chanteur), 224.
†chante-je, chanté-je, 326, 327.
†chanteor (= chanteur), 224.
chanter (*and pts. of*), 318–31, 343–50.
chanter faux, 377.
chanterai, 322.
†chantère (= chanteur), 224.
chantes-tu, 326.
†chantet (*pt. of* chanter, = cantat), 328.
chante-t-on, 328.
chanteur, -euse, 224, 254 (*see also* †chanteor).
chantre, 224.
chanvre, 249.
chapeau, 257–9.
†chapel (= chapeau), 257, 259.
chaque, 206, 207, 209.
char (= carrum, *car*), 227.
charbon, -s, 219.
charbons (†*nom. sing.*, *and acc. plur. of* charbon), 219.
†charre (*pl. of* char, *car*), 227.
†chascun, 207.
chasse à courre, 340.
chasse-rage, 239.
chasseresse, 253.
chat, -te, 254, 255.
châtain, 281.
Châteauneuf, 189.
†chatiement (= châtiment), 382.
châtiment, 382.
†chauce, -s (= chausse), 194[1].
†Chaudefont, 269.
†chauf (= chauve, *m.*), 273.
chausse, *see* †chauce.
chauve, 273.
Chaux-de-Font, 269.
†chedeir (= choir, *and pts. of*), 338, 365.
†chedrai (*pt. of* †chedeir), 338, 365.
chêne, 190.
†cheoir (= choir), 338, 340, 365.
cher, 279.
chercher, 348 (*see also* †cerchier).
†cherrai (*pt. of* choir), 338, 365.
†chesque (= chaque), 207.
†chet (*pt. of* choir), 375.
chétif: lasse chétive! 388.
cheval, -aux, 242, 255–7.
†chevaus (*pl. of* cheval), 257.
chevaux, *see* cheval.

†chevax (*abbrev. for* chevaus), 257.
†chevel, -s (= cheveu), 257–9, 262.
cheveu, -x, 257–9, 262.
chèvre, 255.
chèvrefeuil (*gen. written* chèvrefeuille), 226.
chevreuil, -s, 261.
†chevreul, 261.
†chevreux, 261.
†chevruel (= chevreuil), 261.
chez, 385–6.
chien, -ne, 231, 254, 255.
chinois, 188.
choir (*and pts. of*), 338, 340, 365, 375.
Choisy, 189.
†chol (= chou), 262.
choléra, 240.
chose, 205, 206, 246.
chou, -x, 262.
chou-fleur, 191.
chrysolite, 238.
ci, 313.
ciel, cieux, 226, 257, 260; ciel! 388.
†ciels (= cieux), 226, 260.
cieux (*pl. of* ciel), 257, 260.
cigare, 238.
†cil (= celui, *also* ceux), 309, 311, 312, 313.
cimeterre, 238.
†cinc (= cinq), 194, 195.
†cincme (= cinquième), 203.
cinq, 194, 195, 205.
cinquante, 197.
†cinque (= cinq), 195.
cinquième, 205.
†cinquiesme, 203.
†cinquime, 203.
ciseaux, 194[1].
†cist (*nom. sing. and accus. plur.*), 308–313 (*see also* ce *family*).
civil, -e, 280.
clair, -e, 279; (*use as adv.*), 377.
†clamer (*pts. of*; = crier), 334.
claque, 247.
clé, -s, clef, -s, 257, 259.
cloaque, 249.
clou, -s, 262.
cochon, 255.
coi, -te, 280, 281.
†coie (= coite), 281.
col, -s, 257, 259, 262 (*see also* cou).
†colediz (= coulis), 277.
†coleïce (= coulisse), 277.
†coleis, †coleïz (= coulis), 277.
collégial, -e, 282.
†colp (= coup), 257.
†cols (*pl. of* coup), 257.
combien, 384.
comète, 238.
comme, 386.
commencer (*and pts. of*), 325[1].
comment, 382.
†commenz (*pt. of* commencer), 325[1].
commode, 382.
commodément, 382.
commun, -e, 269.
communal, 381.
†communel, 381.
†communelment, 381.
communément, 381.
compagne, 251.
compagnon, 224, 251, 252.
†compaing (= compagnon), 252.
complet, -ète, 275.
comte, -s, -sse, 220, 252.
comté, 248.
conclure (*pts. of*), 367.
concret, -ète, 275.
conduire (*pts. of*), 367.
†coneu (*pt. of* connaître), 364.
†confès, -esse, 276.
confier (*pts. of*), 344.
conformée, 382.
conformément, 382.
confus, -e, 382.
confusément, 382.
connaître (*and pts. of*), 324, 364, 367.
†conois (= connais), 324.
†cons (= comte), 220.
conseil, -s, 257.
conservateur, -atrice, 254.
†conseus, †conseux (= conseils), 257.
constamment, 270, 381.
†constanment, 381.
constant, -e, -s, 270, 281, 380, 381.
†constantement, 381.
†constantment, 381.
contigu, -ë, 274.
contrat, 259.
contre-approche, 239.
contre-épreuve, 332.
contre-latte, 239.
contumace, contumax, 281.
†conu (*pt. of* connaître), 364.

copain, 224, 252.
coq, -s, 255, 257, 258.
cor, 226–7.
corail, -aux, 260.
Corbières, 232.
cordeau, 191.
†corn (= cor), 226.
corne, 227.
cornette, 247.
corps, 222, 226 (*see also* †cors); corps à corps, 379.
†cors (= corps), 222, 226.
Corse, 189.
†corteis, -e (= courtois, -e), 268–9.
†cortois (= courtois), 268.
†cos (= coq), 148, 257.
†cosdre (= coudre), 372.
†cosre (= coudre), 372.
cou, -s, 257, 259, 262 (*see also* col).
†çou (= ce, eccehoc), 309.
coudre (*and pts. of*), 372.
couler (*and pts. of*), 335, 337, 349.
couleur de feu, 243.
coulis, -se (*obsolete as adj.; with different senses as subs.*), 277.
coup, 192, 257, 259.
couper court, 377.
couple (*m. and f.*), 245.
courir (*pts. of*), 340, 341, 363–4, 371; courir vite, 377.
courre, 340.
cours, 222, 363.
course, 363.
court (*adv.*), 377.
courtois, -e, 268, 269, 276.
cous (*pl. of* col, cou), 262.
†cousdre (= coudre), 372.
cousin, -e, 252.
couturier, -ère, 251.
couvert, 361.
couvrir (*and pts. of*), 324[3], 361, 372.
crabe, 238.
craignant (*pt. of* craindre), 279, 368.
†crain (*pt. of* craindre), 325.
craindre (*and pts. of*), 279, 325, 363, 368.
†creis (= crois, *pt. of* croître), 324.
cri, 218.
crier (= *Pop. Lat.* **critare**, *and pts. of*), 218.
cristal, 240.
critique (*m. and f.*), 243.
†croi (*pt. of* croire), 325.
croire (*pts. of*), 325, 367.
croître (*pts. of*), 324–5.
†(à) croppetons, 378.
†cueil (*pt. of* cueillir), 372.
†cueildrai, †cueilrai, †cueudrai (*pts. of* cueillir), 365.
cueillir (*and pts. of*), 324[3], 365–6, 372.
†cuens (= comte), 220.
†cui (*accented dat. and accus. of* qui), 314.
†cuidier (= *to believe*), 348.
Cussac, 189.

D.

dame! (= domine), 388.
dans, 386.
danseur, -euse, †-eresse, 253.
Danube, 232.
d'après, 386.
d'arrache-pied, 378.
de (*prep.*), 193, 216, 384, 386–7; de dehors, 386; de dessous, 386; †de mot à mot, 379; †de pas à pas, 379; †de peu à peu, 379.
débit, 259.
décolleter (*pts. of*), 350.
dedans, 386.
déesse, 253.
défaillir (*pts. of*), 368.
(je) défaus *or* défaux, &c. (*pts. of* défaillir), 368.
défenderesse, 253.
dehors, 386.
déjà, 376.
†del (= du), 216, 300.
délicat, -e, 273, 275.
délice, délices, 231.
demain, 384.
demanderesse, 253.
†dens (= dents), 257.
dent, 249, 257.
†denz (= dents), 257.
depuis, 385–6; depuis que, 387; †depuis ce que (= depuis que), 387.
derme, 242.
derrière, 385.
dès (= de ipso); 385.
des (= de + les), 299, 300.
déshonneur, 248.
désormais, 380.
dessous, 380, 385–6.
dessus, 380, 385–6.
dette, 363.

†deu (= du), 299.
†deus (= deux), 195, 202.
†deüs, -ümes, &c. (*pts. of* devoir), 362.
†deusiesme, 202.
†(il) deut *or* se deut (*pt. of* †douloir), 335.
deux, 193, 195, 202.
deuxième, 193, 202.
†deuxiesme, 202.
devers, 385.
dévêtir, 358.
devineresse, 253.
devoir, 338, 340, 343, 359; (*pts. of*), 327, 330–1, 335, 338, 361–2, 365, 368–9.
dévot, -e, 275.
dévotion, 191.
†di (= diem), 218–9.
†dia! (= dis va!), 388.
diable (*as interj.*), 388.
diaconesse, 253.
diagonale, 282.
dialecte, 248.
diantre! 388.
†die, -s, -nt (*pts. of* dire), 373.
Dieu (*as interj.*), 388.
différent, -s, -e, 209.
diffus, -e, 382.
diffusément, 382.
†diligentement, 270, 381.
dîme, 204.
†dimes (*pt. of* dire), 369, 372.
dinde, 255.
dindon, 255.
diocèse, 249.
†dira l'on (= dira-t-on), 328.
dira-t-on, 328.
dire (*and pts. of*), 327–8, 330, 361, 367, 369, 372–3.
directeur, -trice, 254.
discours, 179.
†dis (= dix), 194, 196.
discret, -ète, 275–6.
†discrette, 276.
†disenuevime, 204.
†disetisme, 204.
†diseuitisme, 204.
†disiesme, 204.
†disisme, 204.
dis-je (*pt. of* dire), 327.
†disme, 204.
dispos, 281.
dissoudre, 277.
dissous, -oute (*pt. of* dissoudre), 277.
distrait, -e, 275.
dites (*pt. of* dire), 330, 369, 372–3.
dit-on (*pt. of* dire), 328.
dix, 194–6 (*see also* †dis).
dix-huit, 196, 197.
dixième, 204.
dix-neuf, 197.
dix-sept, 197.
dizaine, -s, 205[2].
†doctieur, -ime (*comp. and sup. of* docte), 285[1].
doctoral, 282.
doctoresse, 253.
†does (= deux), 195.
†doi (= deux), 195.
†(je) doi (*pt. of* devoir), 325, 335.
†doie (= doigts), 227.
†(je) doins (= donne), 325[1].
dois-je (*pt. of* devoir), 327.
†doit (= doigt), 227.
†dolce (= douce), 269.
dolent, -e, 269.
†dolz (= doux), 269.
don, -s, 226.
donc, 377.
donner (*and pts. of*), 325[1], 327.
†donques, 377.
dont, 379.
†d'or en avant, 380.
dorénavant, 380.
dormir (*and pts. of*), 324, 327, 367.
dors-je, 327.
†dos (= deux), 194–5, 202.
†dosime, 202.
†dosisme, 202.
dot, 233.
†dou (= du), 299.
†douairier, 250, 253.
douairière, 250.
douane, 191.
douce, 269.
douleur, 241.
†douloir (*pts. of*), 335.
douloureux, -euse, 276.
†dous (= deux), 194–5, 202.
†dousime, 202.
†dousisme, 202.
doute, 234.
doux, *see* douce.
douzain, 205.
douzaine, 205.
douze, 194.
douzième, 202.
†doze (= douze), 194.

drap, -s, 257, 259.
†dras (= draps), 257.
droit (*adv.*), 377.
drôle (*subs.*), 252.
drôlesse, 252.
druide, -sse, 252.
du, 216, 299, 300.
duc, 252.
duché, 248.
duchesse, 252.
†duement, 382.
†dulcement, 380.
dûment, 382.
duquel, *see* lequel.
durant, 385.
durement, 284.
(je) dus (*pt. of* devoir), 361.

E.

eau, 191 (*see also* eaux).
eaux (*pl. of* eau), 192.
ébène, 236.
écarlate, 243.
échange, 234.
échéance, 375.
échec, -s, 258.
(il) échet (*pt. of* échoir), 375.
écho, 240.
échoir (*pts. of*), 375.
écrire (*pts. of*), 367.
écrivain, 250.
effet, 259.
effluve, 236.
†eis (= ecce), 308.
†eissir (= *to go out*), 352.
†el (= en le), 300.
élégamment, 270.
éléments, 378.
élève (*m. and f.*), 247, 250.
élite, 313.
éloigné (*pt. of* éloigner), 279.
éloquemment, 270.
†éloquentement, 270.
†els (= illos, eux), 294–5.
†els (= en les), 300.
émail, -aux, 260.
†emperedor, -s, 220.
†empereedre, 220.
†empereeur, -s, 220–1.
†empereor, -s, 220, 253.
†emperere, -s, 220, 221.
†empereriz, 253.
empereur, -s, 220, 221.
en (= in, *prep.*), 384–6.
en (= inde, *pronom. adv.*), 376, 384.
en bas, 384.
en dedans de, 385.
en dépit de, 385.
†en es le pas, 308[1].
en face, en face de, 385.
en haut, 384.
†en le, les, 300.
†enfans (= enfants), 257, 260.
enfant, -s, 244–5, 250, 257, 260.
†enfanz (= enfants), 257.
enfin, 384.
énigme, 236.
†enl, †enls (= en le, en les), 300.
†enmi, 385.
énormément, 382.
enseigne, 227, 247, 250.
†enseignier (= enseigner), 348.
ensemble, 379, 384.
†ent (= inde), 376.
†entendé-je (*pt. of* entendre), 327.
entr'acte, 232.
entraves, 239.
entre (*prep.*), 326, 384.
(j')entre (*pt. of* entrer), 326, 344, 347.
entrecôte, 239.
†entre-gié, †entre-jo (*pt. of* entrer), 326.
entrer (*pts. of*), 326, 344, 347.
envahir, 352.
envers, 385.
envoyer (*and pts. of*), 351–2.
†eo (= je), 290.
épacte, 236.
épais, -se, 276.
épeautre, 242.
épeler (*pts. of*), 350.
Épernay, 189.
éperon, -s, 218 (*see also* †esperons).
épiderme, 242.
épigramme, 236.
épisode, 236.
épitaphe, 236.
épithète, 236.
épitomé, 240.
épousseter (*pts. of*), 350.
épouvantail, 191 (*see also* épouvantaux).
épouvantaux, 260.
époux, 252.
†eps (= ipse), 308.
†epse, 308[1].

équivoque, 236.
†ére, -s, -t (*pts. of* être), 369.
érésipèle, 236.
†erions, -iez, -ent (*pts. of* être), 369.
†ermes (*pt. of* être), 370.
†erres (= 'r's), 264.
erreur, 248.
†ertes (*pt. of* être), 370.
es *or* ès (= en les), 300.
es (*pt. of* être), 369.
†es (= ecce), 308; †es vos, †es les vos (= ecce vobis), 308[4].
†es (= ipse), 308.
†es (= iste), 308.
†escrire (*and pts. of*), *see* écrire.
†escrit (*partic. used as adj.*), 266.
†esmes (*pt. of* être, = sommes), 329.
espace, 228.
espagnol, -e, 280.
espérer (*and pts. of*), 350, 351.
†esperons (= éperons), 194[1], 218.
†espes, -se, 276.
†espois, -se, 276.
est, *see* être (*pts. of*); c'est, *see under* ce = eccehoc.
estafette, 250.
†estant (*pt. of* être), 371.
est-ce que? 327.
†esteie, -s (*pts. of* être), 370.
†estes (*pt. of* être), 369.
†estoie, -s (*pts. of* être), 370.
†estoile, -s, 194.
†estraie (*pt. of* être), 370.
†estre (= être), 329, 369.
†estude, 229[1].
†estuide (= étude), 229[1].
†estuie (= étude), 229[1].
et (*conj.*), 201, 386–7.
†étal (= étau), 259.
étalon, 255.
étau, -x, 259.
été (*subs.*, = aestatem), 242.
†éternuement, 382.
éternûment, 382.
étranger, étrangère, 279.
être (*pts. of*), 319, 329–31[1], 369, 370–1.
étude, 229.
eu, -e, *see parts of* avoir.
†eu (= en le), 300.
euphorbe, 236.
eus (*pt. of* avoir), 371.
†eus (= illos, eux), 294.
eut (*pt. of* avoir), 371.
eux, 294, 297.
Évain, 222 *note*.
évangile, 229.
Eve, 222 *note*.
évêché, 248.
éventail, *see* †éventaux.
†éventaux, 260.
excepté, 385.
exécuteur, 254.
exécutrice, 254.
exemple, 229.
exigu, -ë, 274.
exprès, -esse, 276, 382.
expressément, 382.
extrême, extrêmement, 284, 285.

F.

†face, -s, &c. (*pts. of* faire), 373.
faible, 272, 343.
faiblir, 343.
faillir, 340.
†faimes (*pt. of* faire), 369, 373.
faire (*pts. of*), 325, 327, 330, 331[1], 361, 367, 369, 372–3.
†faiseor, -s, 220.
faiseur, 220[1].
†faisière, 220.
fais-je (*pt. of* faire), 327.
faites (*pt. of* faire), 330, 369, 372–3.
falloir (*and pts. of*), 340, 365.
fat, 281.
fatal, -s, 282.
Fauquembergue, 189.
fausse (*f. of* faux), 276.
faux (= falsum, *adj.*), 276, 281; (*as adv.*), 377.
favori, -te, 280, 281.
†favorie (= favorite), 281.
†favorir, 281.
†faz (*pt. of* faire), 325.
†fei (= foi), 221.
†feit (= foi), 221.
femelle, 254.
femme, 191, 251.
†fenir (= finir), 353[1].
†fer (= firmum, ferme, *adj. m.*), 273.
ferai, -s, &c. (*pts. of* faire), 373.
†ferm (= ferme, *adj. m.*), 273.
ferme (*adj.*), 273; (*as interj.*), 388.
ferraille, 227.
fertile, 273.
†fesant (*pt. of* faire), 373.

†fesez (*pt. of* faire), 373.
†fesis, -imes, &c. (*pts. of* faire), 361[1].
†fesons (*pt. of* faire), 373.
fête, 226.
feu (= **focum**, *fire*), 262.
†feuil, 226, 227.
feuillage, 227.
feuille, 191, 226, 227.
feuille-morte, 243.
feuillet, 343.
feuilleter, 343.
fi! 388.
fier (*adj.*), 279.
fil, -s (= **filum**, *thread*), 227.
†fil, -s (= **filium**, *son*), 223.
file, -s, 226–7.
fille, 191, 251.
fils (= **filius**), 191, 223, 251.
fin (= **finem**, *end*), 233.
fin, -e (*Pop. Lat.* **finum**, *adj.*), 278.
final, -s, 282.
†(je) fini (*pt. of* finir), 325.
finir (*pts. of*), 325, 352–7, 361, 366.
fis (*pt. of* faire), 361.
fleur, 180, 189, 358; fleur(-s) de lis, 223.
fleurir (*and pts. of*), 357, 358 (*see also* †florir).
†florir (= fleurir), 358.
foi, 221.
fol, -s, -le, -s (= fou, folle), 259, 262, 269, 280.
folle, 252.
fond (*subs.*), 225.
fonds (*subs.*), 222, 224–5 (*see also* fond).
Fonfrède, 269.
font (*pt. of* faire), 331[1], 373.
font, -s (= **fontem**, *subs.*), 249; fonts baptismaux, 269.
fontaine, 249.
†forçor (= **fortiorem**), 283.
†forment (= fortement), 380.
†forn (= four), 258–9.
†fors (*pl. of* †forn), 258.
fors (*prep.*), 385.
fort (*m. and f.*), -e, -s, 240, 267, 270–1, 380a; (*as adv.*), 284–5.
forte, 271.
fortement, 380.
fortune: (la) Fortune, 184, 188, 232.
†forz (*for* fort-s), *m. and f.*, 267, 270.
fou, -s, *f.* folle, -s (= **follem**), 252, 259, 262, 280 (*see also* fol).
foudre, 227, 229, 230.
foule, 192.
four, -s, 258.
fourbe (*m. and f.*), 243.
fourche, 194[1]; †(unes) fourches, 194[1].
fourmi, 233.
†fourmie, 233.
fraîche, 278.
frais, 278.
†fraische, 278.
franc, -he, 274, 277.
français, -e, 188, 269, 276 (*see also* †franceis).
France, 184, 188, 232.
†franceis, -e (= français, -e), 269.
franche (*f. of* franc, *which see*).
Franche-Comté, 248.
Franque, 274, 277[3].
frère, 218, 251.
†fres (= frais), 278.
†fresc (= frais), 278.
†fresche (= fraîche), 278.
frire (*pts. of*), 367.
froid, -e, 275.
Froideval, 242.
†froit (= froid), 275.
froment, 242.
front, 242.
fruit, -s, 218, 219.
†fu (*pt. of* être), 370.
†fui (*pt. of* être), 370.
†fuildre (= foudre), 229[2].
fuir (*pts. of*), 367.
fus (*pt. of* être), 370.
†fustes (*pt. of* être), 370.
fut, *pt. of* être, *which see.*

G.

†gab, 256.
†gaiement, 382.
gaîment, 382.
garçon, 224, 251.
garde (*subs. m. and f.*), 247, 251.
garde-robe, -s, 239.
gars, 224.
†gas (*pl. of* †gab), 256.
geindre, 340.
geler (*and pts. of*), 350–1.
gémir (*and pts. of*), 340.
gendre, 251.
généralissime, 285[2].

génie, 188.
†genoil (= genou) 259.
†(à) genoillons, genouillons, 378.
genou, -x, 257, 259, 262.
†genouil, -s (= genou), 257, 262.
†(à) genouillons, genoillons, 378.
gens (*pl. of* †gent, *which see*), 245–6, 257, 259.
†gent, 245, 257, 259.
gentil, -le, 274, 280, 380–1.
†gentilment, 381.
gentiment, 381.
†genz (= gens), 257.
Georges, 224.
gésir (*and pts. of*), 374.
†gié (= je), 326.
Gilles, 224.
†giste (= gîte), 354.
gîte, 354.
glacial, -s, 282.
gorge-de-pigeon, 243.
goutte à goutte, 379.
†gouvernant (*subs.*), 252.
gouvernante, 251, 252.
gouverneur, 251, 252.
grain, -s (= **granum**), 226–8.
†graindre (= **grandior**), 283.
graine, 226–8.
grammaire, 249.
grand, -e, 270–1, 275, 343, 380 (*see also* †grant).
†grand coup (= beaucoup), 193.
grand'chambre, 270.
grand'chose, 270.
Grand-Couronne, 270.
grand-croix, 270.
grandement, 284, 380.
grand'faim, 270.
Grand-Fontaine, 270.
grand'garde, 270.
grandir, 343.
†grandisme (*sup. of* grand), 285.
grandissime, 285[1].
Grand-lande, 270.
Grand'maison, 270.
grand'mère, 270.
grand'messe, 270.
Grandrive, 270.
grand'rue, 270.
†granment (= grandement), 380.
†grant (= grand), 275.
Granville = Grandville, 270.
gras, 281.
graveuse, -s, 250[2].
grec, -s (*subs. and adj.*), 257, 258, 274.
grecque (*f. of* grec), 274.
†greignior (= **grandiorem**), 283.
†greque (*f. of* grec), 274.
†grés (= grecs), 257, 258.
grief (*obs. as adj.*), 275.
†griefment, 381.
†griefve, 275.
grève, 275.
grièvement, 381.
grimoire, 249.
gris, -e, 273, 276.
grognon, 281.
gros, 276.
guenon, 255.
guère, 193, 382; †guères, 377.
guide (*m. and f.*), 247, 250.
guinderesse, 253.

H.

ha! †ha las! 387–8.
haïr (*and pts. of*), 357–8.
†halçor (= **altiorem**), 283.
†hardieur, -ime (*degrees of* hardi), 285[1].
Haricourt, 189.
hase, 255.
haut, 283, 377 (*see also* †hautisme).
†hautisme (*sup. of* haut), 285.
havre-sac, 191.
hé! †hé las! 387–8.
hébreu (*adj.*), *f.* hébraïque, 281.
Hébreu (*subs.*), -e, -x, 281–2.
hélas! 388.
herbette, 191.
heureux, -euse, 253.
hibou, 262.
hier, 380.
hiver, 242.
ho! 387–8.
†hoiel (= hoyau), 259.
holà! 388.
homme, -s, 191, 246, 251 (*see also* †hons, †om, †ome, on).
honneur, 248.
honnête homme, 246.
†hons (= homme), 221.
horoscope, 236.
horreur, 248.
hors, 385.
hortensia, 240.
hôte, -sse, 252.

hoyau, -x, 259.
†hui, 376.
huile, 196[1].
huis, 196[1].
huit, 194, 196.
huitain, 196, 205.
huitaine, 205.
†huitante, 197, 199.
huitième, 196, 204.
†huitiesme, 204.
humeur, 248.
hyène, 254.
hymne, 236.

I.

†i (= y), 298, 376.
†icel, -s, 311.
†icele, 311.
†icelei, 311.
†iceli, 311.
†icelle, -s, 309, 311.
†icelui, 309, 311.
†icest, 309.
†iceste, -s, 310.
†icestei, 310.
†icesti, 309.
†icestui, 309.
†iceux, 309.
†icez, 309, 310.
ici, 309, 313, 384.
†icil, 308, 309, 311.
†icist, 308, 309.
†iço, 308, 309.
idéal, 282.
†idle (= idole), 230[1].
idole, 230.
†ieo (= je), 290.
†iere, -s, -t, -nt, &c. (*pts. of* être), 369, 370.
†il (= illi, *nom. pl.*), 295.
il, -s (*pers. pron.*), 181, 289[1], 292–5, 297, 311.
il (*neut. or imp. pron.*), 297–8.
il est certain, il est vrai, que, 311. (*For other impersonal verbs with* il *for subject, see the verb.*)
Ilion, 232.
†ilors (= alors), 379.
immensément, 382.
impunément, 382.
impuni, -e, 382.
†impuniement, 382.
incomplet, -ète, 276.
indiscret, -ète, 275.
inférieur, -e, 279.
inquiet, -ète, 276.
insulte, 248.
insulter, 248.
interligne, 247.
intervalle, 236.
intrigue, 237.
irai, -s, &c. (*pts. of* aller), 352.
†issir, 352.
issu (*pt. of* †issir), 352.
†ist (= iste), 308.
†iste, 308[2].
ivoire, 237.
ivrogne, -sse, 252.

J.

j' (= je), 290.
†ja, 376.
Jacques, 224.
jadis, 377.
jaloux, -se, 276.
jamais, 380, 384.
Japon, 232.
jars, 255.
je, 181, 289[2], 290, 292[3], 309, 326.
je soussigné, 290.
Jean, 188.
Jeanne, 184, 188.
†jeo (= je), 290.
Jérusalem, 232.
jeter (*pts. of*), 350, 351.
jeu, -x, 262.
†jo (= je), 290, 309, 326.
joie, 226.
joindre (*and pts. of*), 368.
jointure, 382.
†joliement, 382.
jonquille, 243.
†jorn (= jour), 258-9.
†jors (= jour), 258.
†jou (= ego, je), 290, 309.
joujou, 262.
jour, 258.
Jules, 224.
jumeau, -x, -elle, 280, 281.
†jumel (= jumeau), 280.
jument, 226, 243, 255.
†jus (*adv.*), 376.
jusqu'à ce que, 387.
jusque, 379.
juste, 273.
†juz (= juste, *m.*), 273.

L.

l' (= la, le, †li, †lo), 299 (*see also* le); *euphonic in* †dira l'on, &c., 328.
la (*use as pron.*), 293, 296, 311; (*use as art.*), 293, 298–9. (*See also* le.)
là, 309, 313, 376, 384, 388.
labeur, 249.
labour, 249.
labourer, 249.
lac, -s, 257.
ladre (*subs. and adj.*), -sse, 252.
†ladron (= larron), 220.
Lafont, 269.
laideron, 250.
laie, 255.
†lais (= legs), 225.
laisser (*and pts. of*), 225.
landau, -s, 262.
langue, 188.
†laor (= labeur), 249.
laque, 247.
†larc (= large, *m.*), 273, 277, 278.
large, 273, 278 (*see also* †larc).
larron, -s, 220.
las (= lassum), -se, 276; (*as interj.*), 388; lasse chétive! 388.
†las (= lacs, *pl. of* lac), 257.
lavage, 232.
Laval, 242, 271.
†lavandier, 250[3]; lavandière, 250.
laver (*and pts. of*), 333.
le (*use as pron.*), 289, 293–4, 297; (*use as art.*), 293, 298–300, 311, 328.
le plus, 285.
†ledre (= larron), 220.
†lef, †lefs (*pts. of* laver), 333.
légal, -aux, 282.
léger, -ère, 279.
legs, 224–5.
léguer, 225.
†lei (= illei), 295–7.
lent, -e, 381.
lentement, 381.
†leon, -s (= lion), 219.
lequel (*including* lesquels, laquelle, lesquelles, auquel, duquel, &c.), 208, 315.
†lerre, -s (= larron), 220–1.
les (*pron.*) (= illos), 294–5, 297–8; (= illas), 295–8, 311; (*as article*), 293, 298–300. (*See also* le.)
†les (*pt. of* laver), 333.
†les (= legs), 225.
les, lès, *or* †lez (*which see also*) (*prep.* = latus), 226.
†(unes) letres (= lettre, *epistle*), 194.
lettre, *see* † unes) letres; †lettres royaux, 269.
†leu (*pt. of* lire), 364.
leur, -s, 288, 293–5, 297, 304, 306–7.
†leve, -s, -t, -nt (*pts. of* laver), 333.
lever, se lever (*and pts. of*), 334, 350, 354[2].
lévite, 247.
lèvre, 226, 228.
levrette, 255.
lévrier, 255.
†lez (= lès), 222, 226, 385.
†li (*art.*, = illi, *nom. masc. sing. and pl.*), 298.
†li (*pers. pron.* = illi, *dat. sing.*), 293–6.
†lieve, -s, -nt (*pts. of* lever), 334.
lièvre, 255.
†lil (= lis), 225.
limaille, 227.
limite, 238.
linceul, -s, 257, 261.
†linceux (= linceuls) 257.
lion, -s, -ne, 255 (*see also* †leon).
lire (*and pts. of*), 331–2, 340–1, 362, 364, 367, 372–3.
lis (*subs.*), 224–5.
lisant (*pt. of* lire), 332.
livre, -s (= librum, *book*), 189, 218, 219, 221, 267.
†liz (= lis), 225.
†lo (= le), 294, 298–9, 311.
†loer (= louer, *to praise, and pts. of*), 346–7.
loin, 279.
Loing (*river*), 189.
Loire, 189.
†lois (= louche, *m.*), 273.
l'on, 244, 328 (*see also* on).
†lonc (= long), 277, 278.
Londres, 188, 232.
long, -ue, 274, 277–8.
†longe (= longue), 278.
†longes, 377.
longtemps, 377[3].
†lor (= illorum, leur), 295.
lors, 379.
†loru (= leur), 295.
losange, 249.
†lot (*pt. of* †loer), 346.

louche (*m. and f.*), 273.
louer (*to praise*), 347, 351 (*see also* †loer).
loup, 255.
louve, 255.
loyalement, †loyalment, †loyaument, 269, 381.
†loz (*pt. of* †loer), 346.
Lozère, 189.
†lu (= **lectum**, *pt. of* lire), 364.
lui (*use as dative*), 288–9, 295–7.
lui (*accented accusat.*), 289, 294, 297.
lui-même, 307.
lune, 188.

M.

ma, *see* mon; ma mie (= m'amie), 303.
†maieur, 284.
maigre, 241.
maigreur, 241.
main, -s, 190, 221.
†maindre (= *to remain*), 340.
maint (*adj.*), 206–7.
maintenant, 383.
maire, 221, 284–5.
mais († *as adv.* = davantage), 376; (*as conj.*), 386.
maître, -sse, 252.
majeur, -e, 279, 284 (*see* †maieur).
mal (= **malum**, *subs.*), *pl.* maux, 188, 257.
mal (= **male**, *adv.*), 284, 384.
malachite, 238.
malaise, 234.
mâle, 254.
malgré, 385.
Malibran, 232.
malin, -igne, 278–9.
†maline (= maligne), 279[1].
maman, 251.
mamour, -s (= m'amour, -s), 303.
manche, 247.
mandarin, 191.
mânes, 238.
manger (*pts. of*), 346, 349, 351. (*See also* †mangier.)
†mangier (*and pts. of*), 349 (*see also* manger).
†mangir (*and pts. of*; *dialectal for* manger), 346, 349.
manœuvre, 247.
manoir (†*use as vb.* = *to remain*), 247, 340.
manteau, -x, 257, 259, 262.
†mantel (= manteau), 257, 259.
†mar (= **mala hora**), 380.
marâtre, 251.
mari, 251.
marquis, -e, 252.
marraine, 251.
masque, 247.
mat, -e (*dull*), 275.
Matapan, 189.
†matérial, -aux, 260.
matériaux, 260.
matériel, 260.
mauvais, 284.
mauve (*subs. and adj.*), 243.
maux (*pl. of* mal, *which see*), 257.
me, 289, 291–2.
méchance, 375.
méchanceté, 375.
méchant, 375.
†medesme (= même), 208, 308.
médire (*and pts. of*), 373.
†medre (= mère), 221.
†meesme, 208, 308.
†mei (= moi), 291–2, 304.
†meie, -s (= mienne, -s), 304.
meilleur, 283–5.
†meillor (= meilleur), 284.
†meins (= moins), 376.
mélange, 249.
même, -s (*as adj. and subs.*), 206, 208, 285, 307–8.
mémoire (*m. and f.*), 247.
†meneur (= **minorem**), 284.
†menteor (= menteur), 220.
†mentère, 220.
menteur, -euse, 220, 253.
mentir (*and pts. of*), 367.
†meos (= **meus**), 303[2].
mer, 191, 226.
merci, 242–3.
mère, 221–2, 251.
merveille, 227.
mes, *see* mon.
†meschéance, 375.
†mescheant, 375.
†mesme, -s (= même), 208, 285.
messe, 363.
messire, 302.
†mestice (= métisse), 277.
†mestiz (= métis), 277.
métis, -se, 277.
mets (*subs.*), 363.
mettre (*pts. of*), 361, 367.

meurs, meurt (*pts. of* mourir), 335, 337.
Mexique, 232.
†mi (= mei), 303.
mi-août, 242.
mica, 240.
Mi-Carême, 242.
midi, 241.
mie (= mica), 193.
(ma) mie (= m'amie), 303.
†mieldre (= meilleur), 284.
†miels (= mieux), 284.
mien, -s, -ne, -nes, 303–5, 307 (*see also* †meie, †moie).
miette, 193.
†mieus (= mieux), 284.
mieux, 283, 284.
mi-janvier, 242.
mil, 199, 228.
†milante (= mille fois), 200.
†miliasse (= milliard), 200.
†milie (*pl. of* mille), 200.
mille, 199, 200, 228.
milliard, 200–1.
millième, 204.
millier, 200.
million, -s, 200.
millionième, 204.
mineur, -e, 279, 284.
minuit, 241.
miracle, 228 [2].
mode, 247.
modiste, 250.
mœurs, 248.
moi, 289, 291, 292, 304.
†moie, -s, moye, -s (= mienne, -s), 304.
moindre, 283, 284, 285.
moinesse (*in contempt*), 252.
moins (*adv.*), 193, 283–4, 376, 384.
moisir, 340.
†moit (= moite, *m.*), 273.
moite (*m. and f.*), 273.
mol, -lle, †-s, -lles (*see also* mou), 269, 280.
†moldre (= moudre), 372.
†molt (= multum), *see* †mout.
mon (*including* ma, mes), 181, 302–3, 306.
monogramme, 247.
monseigneur, 302.
mont, -s, 189; (par) monts et par vaux, 242.
Montrouge, 189.
mordre (*and pts. of*), 363.
†morrai (*pt. of* mourir), 338.
mors (*subs.*), 363.
mort (= mortuum, *partic.*), 361.
mort (= mortem, *subs.*), 221, 231, 317.
mortel, -elle, 269, 271, 380.
mortellement, 381.
†mortelment, 381.
mot à mot, 379.
mou, -s, 280 (*see also* mol).
moudre (*and pts. of*), 372.
mourir (*and pts. of*), 316–7, 322, 335, 337–8, 361, 365.
†mout (= multum), 284.
mouton, 255.
mouver (*pop. for* mouvoir), 340.
mouvoir (*and pts. of*), 340, 365.
†mouvre (= mouvoir), 340.
moyennant, 385.
muet, -te, 275–6.
†muète (= muette), 276.
mulâtre, -sse, 252.
mule, 255.
mulet, 255.
multitude, 192.
mur, -s, 190, 217, 219, 231, 343.
murer, 343.

N.

nager, *see* †nagier.
†nagier (*pts. of*), 348
naguère, 382.
naître (*and pts. of*), 3-7, 361.
nature, 188.
naval, 282.
navire, 249.
ne (= non, *atonic*), 377 (*see also* †nen).
†ne . . . mie, 193; ne . . . pas, 193; ne . . . point, 193.
né, -e (*pts. of* naître), 317, 361.
nécessairement, 384.
nef, -s, 257, 258.
nègre, négresse, 252.
†neir, -s (= noir), 266.
†nen (= non, *atonic*), 383.
†nenni, †nennil, 383.
†nés (= nefs), 257.
neuf (= novem, *nine*), 194.
neuf, neuve (= novum, nova, *new*), 272, 274–5.

neuvaine, 205.
neuvième, 204.
Néva, 232.
neveu, -x, 251.
nez à nez, 379.
ni, 386–7.
nièce, 251.
†no (= **nostri**), 305.
Noël, 242.
†nofme (= neuvième), 204.
†noiel (= noyau), 259.
noir, -e, -s, 180, 241, 266, 279, 343; (*as subs.*), 180.
noirceur, 241.
noircir, 343.
Noirmoutiers, 189.
†nois (= noix), 222.
noisette, 243.
noix, 222.
non (*adv.*), 263, 377, 383–4.
†nonain, 222 *note.*
nonante, 197–9.
nonnain, 222 *note.*
nonne, 222 *note.*
nopal, 260.
normal, -e, 280.
nos (*poss. pron.*), 305 (*see also* notre).
†nos (= nous), 291, 292, 305.
†nostre, -s (*accented*, = nôtre), 305–7.
†nostre, -s (*atonic*, = notre), 267, 305, 354.
†nostrs (= **nostros**), 305.
†nosts (= **nostros**), 305.
notre, 305–6, 354 (*see also* †nostre *and* nos).
nôtre, -s, 305–7.
nourrisson, 247.
nous, 289[2], 291–2 (*see also* †nos).
nouveau, -x, 281 (*see also* nouvel).
nouvel, -le, 274, 280 (*see also* nouveau).
nouvel œuvre, 230.
†noviesme, 204.
†novisme, 204.
noyau, -x, 259.
†noz (= **nostros**), 305.
†nualz (= **nugalius**, *worse*), 283.
†nuef (= **novem**, neuf), 194.
nul, -le, 206, 208, 280; nulle part, 380.
†nuof (= **novem**, neuf), 194.
†nus (= nous), 291.

O.

†o (= **ubi**), 377.
†o (= **hoc**), 308, 383.
Ô! 387.
†oan (*this year*), 380.
obscur, -e, 279.
†occir (*and pts. of*), 331.
†ocir, *see* †occir.
octante, 197, 198.
octave, 204.
†odrai (*pt. of* †odir), 338, 366[1].
œil, 261.
œil-de-chat, 261.
œil(-s)-de-perdrix, 261.
œuf, -s, 257–8.
†œus (= œufs), 257.
œuvre, 230.
offert (*pt. of* offrir), 361.
office, 230, 240.
offre (*subs.*), 237.
offrir (*and pts. of*), 324[2], 361, 372.
oh! 387.
†oi (*pt. of* avoir), 371.
oie, -s, 255.
†oïl (= oui), 308.
oindre, *see* oint.
oint (*pt. of* oindre), 361.
†oïr (= ouïr), 338.
†om, -s (= **homo**, on), 206, 220.
†ome, -s (= homme), 220.
on, 205–6, 220–1, 225, 244, 328 (*see also* †om).
(l')on, 225, 244, 328.
oncle, 251.
ongle, 248.
†onques (= **unquam**), 209.
†ons, *see* on.
†onsime (= onzième), 196[2].
ont (*pt. of* avoir), 331[1].
onzain, 196.
onze, 194, 196, 201.
onzième, 196, 204.
†onzime, 204.
opale, 237.
opéra, 240.
opiniâtrée, 382.
opiniâtrément, 382.
opulemment, 381, 382.
opulent, -e, 381.
opuscule, 237.
or (*adv.*, *conj.*; = *Pop. Lat.* **hora**), 379 (*see also* †d'or); or çà! 388.

orage, 237.
oraison, 179[1].
orange, 243.
†ordonnances royaux, 269.
ordre, -s, 237.
†ore, -s (*now*), 379.
†orent (*pt. of* avoir), 371.
organe, 237.
orge, 230; orge carré, 230; orge mondé, 230; orge perlé, 230.
orgue, 230.
oriental, -aux, -e, -es, 282.
†orrai (= *pt. of* ouïr), 338, 366[1].
†ors (= or, hora), 379.
orthographe, 237.
†os (*pt. of* oser), 325[1].
oser, *see* †os.
†ou (= en le), 300.
ou (= aut, *or*), 386–7.
où (= ubi, *where*), 377, 384.
ouais! 387.
oui, 263, 308 (*see correction on p.* xi), 383–4.
ouïr (*and pts. of*), 338, 341, 366[1].
ouirai (*pt. of* ouïr), 366[1].
†oumes (*pt. of* avoir), 371.
Oural, 232.
ours, 222.
†ous, †oustes, †out (*pts. of* avoir), 371.
outre, 384.
ovale, 237.

P.

pagne, 238.
paiement, 382.
paillasse (*m. and f.*), 247.
paille, 243.
paîment, 382.
pain, 218, 219.
pair, -esse, 252.
†pais (= paix), 222.
paître (*pts. of*), 325.
paix, 222.
pal (= palus, *Class. Lat., stake*), 260.
†pal (= pallidum, pâle, *m.*), 273.
palais (*palace*), 222.
pâle, 273.
palsambleu, 241.
papa, 251.
pape, -sse, 252.
Pâque, Pâques, 242.
par (†*use as adv.*), 284.
par (*use as prep.*), 384, 386.
†par avant, 380.
†par ce que, 387.
par dedans, 386.
paraître (*and pts. of*), 362, 364, 366–7.
parallèle (*m. and f.*), 243.
†parâtre (*stepfather*), 251.
†paravant, 380.
parce que, 387.
par-dessous, 380.
par-dessus (*adv.*), 380, 386.
parent, -ents, -ens, 260.
†pareu (*pt. of* paraître), 364.
Paris, 184, 188.
parisienne, 188.
parler (*pts. of*), 336, 337, 350.
parmi, 385.
†paroir (*and pts. of*), 368.
†parol, -s, -t, &c. (*old forms of* parler), 336, 350.
parole, -s (*subs.*), 194[1].
parrain, 251.
†(je) parti, 325.
partir (*and pts. of*), 323–5, 341, 343, 359, 368.
partisan, 281.
partout, 384.
paru (*pt. of* paraître), 364.
pas (*neg.*), 193.
pas à pas, 379.
passage, 191.
pasteur, 224.
pastille, 238.
patenôtre, 238.
†pâteur (= pasteur), 224.
patiemment, *see* †patientement.
†patientement, 270.
pâtre, 224.
patron, patronnesse, 252.
patronal, 282.
pauvre (*adj.*), 272 (*see also* †povre *and* pauvre, -sse, *subs.*).
pauvre, -sse (*subs.*), 252.
paver, 339.
payer (*and pts. of*), 351.
paysan, -ne, 252, 278.
†(je) paz (*pt. of* paître), 325.
†pecheor, -eriz (= pécheur, pécheresse); 253.
pécheresse, *see* †pecheor, -eriz.
pécheur (*sinner*), *see* †pecheor.

pédant, 191.
†pedre (= père), 219.
peindre (*and pts. of*), 363.
peintre, -sse, 250.
†peis (= pensum, poids), 363.
Péloponnèse, 232.
pénal, -s, 282.
pendant (*partic. and prep.*), 385–6.
pendre (*and pts. of*), 363, 364 (*see also* pendant).
pendule (*m. and f.*), 243.
pénitential, pénitentiel, *f.* -elle; *pl.* -aux, -elles, 282.
perdre (*pts. of*), 367.
père, -s, 216, 218, 219, 251.
période, 247.
périr, 352.
persan, -e, 278.
persécuteur, -utrice, 254.
personne, -s, 205, 206, 243, 244.
perte, 363.
peser (*pts. of*), 350.
†pesme (= pessimum), 285.
peste (*m. and f.*), 247.
petit, -e, 275.
pétoncle, 238.
peu, 193, 384; peu à peu, 379.
peuple, -s, 188.
peut (*pt. of* pouvoir), 335; peut être, 383–4.
peux (*pt. of* pouvoir), 327, 337, 352[1].
phylloxera, 240.
physique (*m. and f.*), 243.
†piéça, 382.
pied, 190.
Pierre, 184, 185.
pierre, 191.
Pierrefort, 270.
Pierre-Simon, 185.
pieuvre, 238.
pique, 247.
pire, 283, 284, 285.
pis (= pectus, *udder*), 226.
pis (= pejus, *worse*), 283, 284.
pivoine, 247.
†piz (= *udder*), 226.
†place (*pt. of* plaire), 373.
placer (*pts. of*), 351.
plafond, 191.
plaire (*and pts. of*), 325, 340, 362, 364, 367, 373 (*see also* plaisir).
plaisir (†*as vb.*), 340; (*as subs.*), 340.
plante, 190.
plat-fond, 191.
platine (*platinum*), 234.
platine (*platen*, &c.), 234[1].
†plaz (*pt. of* plaire), 325.
plein, -e, 278.
†pleu (*pt. of* plaire), 364.
pleur (*subs.*), 240.
pleurer (*and pts. of*), 335, 337, 346, 347.
†ploï, -iïs, &c. (*pts. of* plaire), 362.
†plorer (= pleurer, *and pts. of*), 346–7.
†plourer (= pleurer, *and pts. of*), 335.
ployer, 351.
plumail, *see* †plumaux.
†plumaux, 260.
plume, 343.
plumer, 343.
plus (*adv.*), 193, 283–5, 376, 384.
plusieur, -s, 206, 208, 284.
pluvial, -e, 282.
†podeir, 375.
†podrai (*pt. of* pouvoir), 375.
†poeir (= pouvoir), 375.
poète, poétesse, 252.
poids, 363.
point (*neg.*), 193.
poire, 226.
†poitraux, 260.
poli, -e, 273.
pomme d'acajou, 393.
pomme de terre, 393–4.
pont, 242.
ponte (*brood*), 364.
†pooir (= pouvoir), 375.
porc, 255.
porche, 248.
†porrai (*pt. of* pouvoir), 375.
portail, *see* †portaux.
†portaux, 260.
porte-plume, 191.
poste, 363.
postérieur, -e, 279.
pou (= pediculum), 262.
†pouil, 262.
poule, 255.
pour (*prep.*), 384, 386.
†pour ce que (= parce que), 387.
pour que, 387.
pourpre, 243.
pourquoi, 263.
pourtant, 386.

pourvoir (*and pts. of*), 365.
pouvoir (*and pts. of*), 325–7, 335, 337, 352[1], 362, 375 (*see also* †podeir).
†povre, -s (= pauvre), 267.
préfix, -e, 277.
†premerain, -e (= premier), 202.
premier, -ière, 202, 279.
prendre (*and pts. of*), 322, 324, 361, 369.
prentes (*dialectal*, = **prenditis**), 369[1].
près (*adv.*), 385; près de, 385.
présent, -e, 270.
présentement, 270, 381.
presque, 384.
†prestre, -s (= prêtre), 220–1.
†presveire (= prêtre), 220.
prêt, -e (*adj.*), 275.
prétendre (*and pts. of*), 327.
†pretends-je, 327.
prêtre, -sse, 223, 252 (*see also* †prestre, †presveire, &c.).
†preuve, -s (*pts. of* prouver), 335.
preux, 268.
†preyez, -ons (*pts. of* prier), 335.
†(je) pri (*pt. of* prier), 344.
†prieies (= prix), 222.
prier (*pts. of*), 335, 344, 351.
prime, 202.
prime abord, 202.
prime saut, 202.
†primes (*adv.*), 377.
primevère, 202.
†prin (= prime), 202.
prince, -sse, 252.
†prindrai (*pt. of* prendre), 322.
printemps, 202, 242.
†pris (= **pretium**, prix), 222.
†pris (= (je) prise), 325[1].
priser (*and pts. of*), 325[1].
prix, 222 (*see also* †pris).
proche de, 385.
professeur, †-euse, 250.
†prometre (*and pts. of*), 370.
promettre, *see* †prometre.
prophète, -étesse, 252.
†prot (= preux), 268.
protecteur, -trice, 254.
†prouvaire, -s (= prêtre), 220, 223.
prouver (*and pts. of*), 335.
†proveire (= prêtre), 220, 223.
†provoire (= prêtre), 223.
†proyer (*and pts. of*), 335.
prudemment, 270, 381.
†prudenment, 381.
†prudens (*pl. of* prudent), 260.
prudent, -s, -e, 267, 270, 281, 381 (*see also* †prudens).
†prudentement, 381.
†prudentment, 381.
†prudenz (*for* prudent, -s), 267.
Prusse, 232.
public, -ique, 274.
†publicque, 274.
puce, 243.
puer, 340.
puéril, -s, -e, 273, 280.
†puir (= puer), 340.
puis (*pt. of* pouvoir), 325, 352[1].
puisque, 387.
†puisse-gié, †puisse-jo, puissé-je, 326 (*pts. of* pouvoir).
puits, 224.
†puiz, 224.
Pyrénées, 184.
pyrite, 238.

Q.

quadrille (*m. and f.*), 243.
quand, 386.
quant, -e, -es (= **quantum**, -**a**, &c., *adj. pron.*), 206, 208; quantes et quantes fois, 208; toutes fois et quantes, 208.
quant (*adv.* = **quantum**), 208[1].
quarante, 197.
quart, quarte (*adj. and subs.*), 203.
†quartaine, 204.
quasi, 382.
quasiment, 382.
quatorze, 194.
†quatorzime, 204.
quatrain, 205.
quatre, 194, 203; quatre à quatre, 379.
quatre-vingt-dix, 198–9.
quatre-vingts, 197–9.
quatrième, 203.
†quatriesme, 203.
†quatrime, 203.
†quatrisme, 203.
†que (= **qui**, *atonic*), 314.
que (= **quem**, *acc. of* qui), 313–4.
que (= **quid**, *neut. rel. and interrog. pron., accus.*), 193, 315.
que (= **quod**, **quid**, *conj.*), 383, 386–7.

†quei (= quoi), 315.
†queid (= quoi), 315.
quel, -s, -lle, 206, 208, 315.
quelconque, 209.
quelque (= quel + que), 206, 209.
quelque chose, 246-7.
quelque part, 380.
quelquefois, 380.
quelqu'un, 209.
quérir (*and pts. of*), 334.
†queule (*pt. of* couler), 335, 349.
qui (= qui *accented in Lat.*, *rel. pron.*, *nom.*) 313-4.
qui (*interrog. pron.*, *nom.*, *dat.*, *and accus.*), 314-5 (*see also* qui *above*).
qui (= *Pop. Lat.* cui, *rel. pron.*, *dat. and accus.*, *accented*), 314.
†quiert (*pt. of* quérir), 334.
†quint, 203.
quinte, 203.
†quintisme, 204.
quinze, 194.
Quinze-Vingts, 199.
quoi (= quid, *rel. and int. pron.*), 315.

R.

r (*letter*), 264 [1].
radoub, 256.
†radous, 256.
raide, *see* †roide, †roit.
raifort, 240.
†raisniez, -nons (*pts. of* raisonner), 337.
raisonner (*pts. of*), 336-7.
rarissime, 285 [2].
ras, -e, 276.
raser, 385.
rat, 254.
†réal (*m. and f.* = royal), 271 [1].
recette, 363.
recevoir (*and pts. of*), 325, 335, 338, 343, 359, 365.
†(je) reçoif (*pt. of* recevoir), 335.
recrue, 250.
†(je) reçu (*pt. of* recevoir), 325.
redire (*and pts. of*), 373 [1].
réel, -le, 274, 280.
refaire (*and pts. of*), 373.
régal, 260.
reine, 251.
relever, 334.
relief, 334.
rémora, 240.
rencontre, 234.
rendre (*and pts. of*), 324, 341, 343, 363, 365, 367.
(la) Renommée, 188.
renoncule, 238.
renouveler (*pts. of*), 350.
rente, 363.
rentes (*dialectal*, = redditis), 369 [1].
repentir, se repentir, 359.
répit, 259.
replet, -ète, 276.
reproche, 234, 249.
†rere (*syn. of* raser), 385.
réséda, 240.
résoudre (*and pts. of*), 281, 372.
résous (*pt. of* résoudre), 281.
rets, 224.
Reuss, 232.
revêtir (*pts. of*), 358-9.
†rez, †rez pied, †rez terre, 385.*
Rhône, 232.
rhume, 238.
riche, *see* richissime.
Richelieu, 398.
richissime, 285 [1].
rien, 205-6, 246.
†riens, 246.
†rière, 380, 385.
rigueur, 241.
rime, 239.
rire (*and pts. of*), 340-1, 343, 361.
risque, 239, 249.
rivière, 189.
Rochefort, 270, 398.
roi, 251.
†roide (= raide), 273.
†roit (= †roide, *m.*), 273.
Romainville, 189.
†rompé-je (*pt. of* rompre), 327.
rompre (*and pts. of*), 327, 340, 342-3, 363.
romps-je (*pt. of* rompre), 327.
(à la) ronde, 378.
rose, -s (*subs. and adj.*), 180, 221, 222, 231, 243, 267.
rouge, 180, 241.
rougeur, 241.
rousse, 276 (*f. of* roux, *which see also*).
roux, 276 (*see also* rousse).
royal, -e, -aux, 269, 271 [1].
royalement, 269.

†royalment, 269.
†royaument, 269.
royaux (*m. and f.*), 269.
†(je) ruis (= **rogo**), 325[1].

S.

sa, *see* son.
sagesse, 190.
†saildrai, †sailrai (*pts. of* saillir), 365.
saillir (*and pts. of*), 324[1], 365–6, 372.
(la) Saint-Jean, 242.
†salvarai (*pt. of* sauver), 322.
salve, 239.
sang, 241.
sanglier, 255.
sans (*prep.*), 384.
†sarqueu (= cercueil), 261.
saurai (*pt. of* savoir), 365, 371.
sauvage, -sse, 252.
sauver (*pts. of*), 322.
savoir (*and pts. of*), 340, 362, 365, 371.
se (= **se**), 292 (*see also* †sei = soi).
sec, sèche, 278.
second, -e, 202.
secret, -ète, 275.
†sedme (= septième), 203.
†sedrai (*pt. of* †seoir), 338.
†sei (= soi, *which see also*), 292, 304.
†seie, -s, &c. (*pts. of* être), 370–1.
seigle, 242.
seigneur, -s, 220, 224, 283–4.
Seine, 184, 189, 232.
†seintisme (= **sanctissimum**), 285.
†seissante (= soixante), 197.
seize, 194.
seizième, *see* †sezime.
selon, 386.
sembler (*and pts. of*), 344.
sensément, 382.
sens-je, 327.
sentes (*dialectal*, = **sequitis**), 369[1].
sentinelle, 250.
sentir (*and pts. of*), 327, 341, 359, 364[1], 367; sentir bon, 377.
sentu (*pop. for* senti), 364[1].
†seoir (*and pts. of*), 338, 374.
sept, 194, 196.
septante († *and prov.*), 197–9.
septième, 203.
†septiesme, 203.
sera, &c. (*pts. of* être), 370.
sérail, 191.
sérénissime, 285[2].
†sereur, -s (= sœur), 220, 223.
†seror (= sœur), 222 *note*.
serpent, 233, 254 (*see also* †serpenz).
†serpenz (*nom. sing. and acc. pl. of* serpent), 219.
†serrai (*pt. of* †seoir), 338.
serval, 260.
†servant (= serviteur), 252.
servante (*partic. and subs.*), 251–2.
service, 240.
serviteur, 251, 252.
ses, *see* son.
†sestier (*pl.* -ière), 227.
†set (= sept), 194.
†setante (*seventy*), 197.
†setiesme (= septième), 203.
†setisme (= septième), 203.
†seue, -s (= sienne, -s), 304.
seuil, -s, 261.
Sévigné, 189.
Sèvres, 184.
†sezime (= seizième), 204.
si (= **si**, *conj.*), 386.
si (= **sic**, *adv.*), 377.
†si (= **sui**), 302.
sien, -s, -ne, -nes, 303–4, 307.
sieste, 203.
signet, 279[1].
Simon, 185.
singe, 255.
sire, -s, 220–1, 224, 283–4.
†sis (= six), 194–5.
†sisiesme (= sixième), 203.
†sisime (= sixième), 203.
†sisisme (= sixième), 203.
†sisme (= sixième), 203.
†siste (= sixième), 203.
†sivir, †sivre (= suivre), 340.
six, 194–5.
sixième, 203.
sixtain, 205.
Sixte, 203.
†six-vingts, 199.
sœur, 220, 221[1], 223.
soi, 292, 304.
†soie, -s, -nt (*pts. of* être), 370–1.
†soie, -s (= sienne, -s), 304.
sois, -t, -ent, &c. (*pts. of* être), 370–1.
soixante, 197; soixante-dix, 198, 199.

†sol, -s, -z (= sou), 259.
†solaz, 222 (*see also* †soulas).
†sold (= sou), 259.
soleil, 191.
†soller, -s (= soulier, -s), 194[1].
†som (= sommes, *pt. of* être), 329[2].
†somes (= sommes, *pt. of* être), 329, 330, 369.
†soms (= sommes, *pt. of* être), 329, 330, 369.
†son (= sommes, *pt. of* être), 329[2].
son (sa, ses) (*possess. pron.*), 301–3, 306.
†sons (= sommes, *pt. of* être), 330.
sont (*pt. of* être), 331[1], 369.
†sordeis, †sordois (= **sordidius**, *worse*), 283.
sors-je, 327.
sort, 188, 249.
sorté-je (*pt. of* sortir), 327.
sortir (*and pts. of*), 327, 349, 359.
sot, -te, 275.
sou, -s, 259.
soucoupe, 239.
†soudre (*pts. of*), 372.
souffrir (*and pts. of*), 372.
souillon, 250.
soûl, -e, 280.
†soulas, 222.
soulier, -s, *see* †soller, -s.
soupçon, 249.
soupirail, -aux, 260.
†soupirails, 260.
souris (*mouse*), 254.
sous (*prep.*), 385.
souvent, 379, 384.
spécialement, 269.
†specialment, 269.
†spéciaument, 269.
squelette, 191, 239.
steppe, 239.
†stéril (= stérile, *m.*), 273.
stérile, 273.
sti-là (*pop.* = †cestui-là), 310[1].
subir, 352.
†suen, -s (= sien, -s), 303.
†suer (= sœur), 220, 222 *note*.
†sui (*pt. of* être), 369.
suis (*pt. of* être), 325, 369; suis-je, 327, 329[1]; suis-je-ti (*vulg.*), 329[1].
suivant (*prep.*), 385–6.
suivre (*and pts. of*), 316, 340, 367.
sujet, 191.
†suos (= **suus**), 303[2].
supérieur, -e, 279.
supposé (*as prep.*), 385.
supposer (*see* supposé), 385.
sur (*prep.*), 384, 386.
sus (*adv.*), 376.

T.

t (*euphonic, as in* aime-t-il), 328.
t' (= tu, *pop.*), 292[4].
ta, *see* ton.
table, 190, 191, 231.
†tace (*pt. of* taire), 373.
taire, se taire (*and pts. of*), 325, 362, 364, 373.
tandis, 377.
tant, 208, 377, 384.
tant s'en faut, 298.
tant y a, 298.
tante, 251.
(le) Tasse, 232.
taureau, 255.
†taz (*pt. of* taire), 325.
te, 289, 292 (*see also* tu).
†tei (= toi, *which see also*), 292, 304.
tel, -le, 206, 209, 271, 380; tel quel, 208.
temps, *see* †tems.
†tems (= temps), 222, 226.
†tendeie, &c. (*pts. of* tendre), 370.
†tendrai, &c. (*pts. of* tenir), 365, 374.
tendre (= **tendere**, *vb.*, *pts. of*), 342, 370, 374.
tendre (= **tenerum**, *adj.*), 272.
tendron, 250.
ténia, 240.
tenir (*and pts. of*), 325, 334, 337–8, 340, 361, 365, 368, 374, 388.
tentateur, -atrice (*subs. and adj.*), 254.
tente, 364.
terrain, 205.
terzain, -e, 204–5.
tes, 306 (*see also* ton).
†teste, 354.
tête, 354.
†teu (*pt. of* taire), 364.
†teue, -s (= tienne, -s), 304.
théâtral, 282.
†ti (= tui), 302.
ti (*exclamatory particle, pop.*), 327.
tibia, 240.
tien, -s, -ne, -nes, 181, 303–4, 307.

†(je) tien (*pt. of* tenir), 325.
tiens! (*pt. of* tenir), 388.
tierce, 203, 277.
tiers, 202[1], 203, 277.
†tierz (= tiers), 277.
tige, 249.
tigre, -sse, 255.
tins (*pt. of* tenir), 361.
toi, 292, 304; (*accented use*), 181, 289.
†toie, -s (= tienne, -nes), 304.
toise, 363.
†toldre (= *to take away*), 340.
†tollir (= *to take away*), 340.
ton (*poss. pron.*), 302–3, 306.
†tor, -s (= turrem, *tower*), 258.
†torn (= *tower*), 258–9.
touchant (*partic. and prep.*), 385.
toucher, *see* touchant.
toujours, 380.
tour (*f.*, *tower*), 258.
†tous jours, 380.
(la) Toussaint, 242.
tousser, 340.
†toussir, 339.
tout (*adj. and adv.*), tous, toute, -s, 206, 209, 257, 259, 275, 384.
toutefois, 380.
†toutes voies, 380.
†touz (= tous), 257.
traiter, *see* †traitier.
†traiteur (= traître), 253.
†traitier (= traiter, *and pts. of*), 348.
†traître (= traître), 253.
traître, -sse, 224, 252–3.
†traitreuse, 253.
traîtreusement, 253.
transversal, 282.
travail, -aux, 257, 260 (*see also* †travails).
†travails, 260.
travaux, 257.
†trei, -s (= trois), 195, 203.
†treisisme (= troisième), 203.
treizième, see †trezime.
trembler (*and pts. of*), 326, 344.
trente, 197.
trépasser, 284–5.
très (*prep.*), 284–5, 384.
†treuve (*pt. of* trouver), 335, 337.
treize, 194.
†treze, 194.
†trezime (= treizième), 204.
trillion, 200, 201.
triomphe (*m. and f.*), 234.
†trist (= triste, *m.*), 273.
triste, 273.
†troi, 195.
trois, 195–6, 203.
troisième, 203.
†troisisme, 203.
trompette (*m. and f.*), 247.
trop (*adv.*), 193.
troupe, 192–3.
troupeau, 192.
†trouveor, -s, 220.
trouver (*and pts. of*), 325, 335, 337a.
trouvère, 220.
truchement, 191.
†trueve (*pt. of* trouver), 335.
truie, 255, 291–2.
†(je) truis (*pt. of* trouver), 325[1].
tu (*pt. of* taire), 364.
tu (*pers. pron.*), 181, 291–2; (†*accented use*), 291–2.
†tuen, -s (= tien, -s), 303.
turc, -s, turque (*adj. and subs.*), 257, 273.
†turs (= turcs), 257.

U.

†ueil (= œil), 261.
†uidme (= huitième), 204.
†uile, 196[1].
†uis (= huis), 196[1].
†uit (= huit), 194, 196.
†uitiesme, 204.
†uitisme, 204.
ulcère, 237.
ultérieur, -e, 279.
ultimatum, 191.
un, une (*numeral and article*), 194–6, 201–2, 206–7, 209, 263 (*see also* uns, unes).
†ung (= un), 194, 196[1].
unième, 196, 202.
†universal, -aux (*adj.*), 260.
universaux (*subs.*), 260.
universel, 260.
uns, unes, 194 (*see also* un, une).
†uns (*use as numer. adj.*), 194[1] (*see also* un, une).
ustensile, 237.
†util (= utile, *m.*), 273.
utile, 273.

V.

va da! 388.
vache, 255.
vague (*subs.*, *m. and f.*), 243.
vain, -e, 278.
vaincre (*pts. of*), 363, 373–4.
†vains, †vaint (*pts. of* vaincre), 374.
vais (*pt. of* aller), 322, 325[1], 352.
val (*pl.* vaux, *which see also*), 189, 242, 271. [*The pl.* vals *is recent.*]
†valdrai (*pt. of* valoir), 338.
valoir (*pts. of*), 338, 363, 365, 368.
†valt (*pt. of* valoir), 338.
vantail, -aux, 260.
vantard, 220[1].
†vanteor, -s, 220.
†vantère, 220.
vapeur, 241.
(je) vas (*pt. of* aller), 352.
†vat (*pt. of* aller), 352.
Vaucluse, 271.
Vauvert, 271.
vaux (*pl. of* val); par monts et par vaux, 242.
†vedeir (= voir), 365.
†vedrai (*pt. of* voir), 338, 365.
végétal, 190.
véhémente, 270.
véhémentement, 270, 381.
†veins, †veint (*pts. of* vaincre), 374.
†veintre (= vaincre), 373–4.
†venc (*pt. of* vaincre), 374.
†vendra (*pt. of* venir), 338.
vendre (*and pts. of*), 342, 374.
vengeresse, 253.
venir (*and pts. of*), 322, 334, 338, 361, 374.
†venquez, -ons (*pts. of* vaincre), 374.
vent-coulis, 277[1].
vente, 363.
†veoir (= voir), 338.
ver, -s, 257–8.
†verde (= verte), 275.
verdeur, 241.
†verm (= ver), 257, 259.
vermeil, -le, 274.
verrai (*pt. of* voir), 365.
vers (*prep.*), 384, 386.
vers (= *verse*), 195 *note*.
Versailles, 232.
vert, -e, 241, 268, 271, 275.
vertu, 190; vertus cardinales, 193.
vertueux, 268.
†vertuos (= vertueux), 268.
†vesti (*pt. of* vêtir), 364[1].
vêtir (*pts. of*), 341, 357–9, 364[1].
veux-je (*pl. of* vouloir), 327.
viande, 354[2].
vicomte, 248.
vide, 273.
vie, 188.
vieil, -le, 251 (*see also* vieux).
vieillard, 251.
vieillot, -te, 275.
†(je) vien (*pt. of* venir), 325.
viens (*pt. of* venir), 322.
vierge, 224.
vieux, 251, 268 (*see also* vieil).
vif, vive, 275.
vifve (= vive), 275.
vigne, 240.
vil, -e, -s, 196[1], 273.
Villefort, 270.
Villeréal, 271[1].
vin, 191, 226.
vingt, 197.
vingt-cinq, 205.
vingt-et-quatrième, 204.
vingt-huit, 196.
vingtième, 204.
vingt-quatrième, 204.
vins (*pt. of* venir), 361.
†vint (= vingt), 197.
†vintisme (= vingtième), 204.
violemment, 382.
vipère, 254.
virginal, 282.
†virgne (= virginem), 224.
vis (*pt. of* voir), 361.
†vis (= visum, *syn. of* visage), 196[1].
†vit (= vide, *m. of adj.*), 273.
vite (*adj. and adv.*), 377.
vitrail, -aux, 260.
†vivandier, 250[3].
vive (*fem. of* vif), 275.
†voer (= vouer), 291.
†(je) voi (*pt. of* voir), 325.
voici, 328[1].
voilà, 328–9; voilà-t-il? (*famil.*), 329.
voir (= videre, *and pts. of*), 325, 338, 352, 361, 365; voir clair, 377.
†vois (= vocem, voix), 222.
†(je) vois (*pt. of* aller), 325[1], 352.

voix, 222.
volontiers, 377.
vont (*pt. of* aller), 331[1], 352.
vos, *pl. of* votre, *which see.*
†vos (= vous), 292.
Vosges, 189, 232.
†vostre, -s (*atonic*) (= votre), 267, 305.
†vostre, -s (*accented*) (= le vôtre), 267, 305.
votre, 305–6 (*see also* †vostre *atonic*).
(le, -s) vôtre, -s, 306–7 (*see also* †vostre *accented*).
vouer, 291.
vouloir (*and pts. of*), 327, 335, 363, 365; (*as auxiliary in future*), 321[1].
vous, 292.
†voz (= vos), 305.
vraiment, 384.

Y.

y, 298, 376, 384.
Ydain, 222 *note.*
†Yde, 222 *note.*
yeuse, 190, 240.
yeux, 261.

INTERCALATED CONSONANTS AND SYLLABLES

-ioz-, 353.
-is-, 353.
-isc-, 353–4.
-iss-, -is- (*tenses in*), 353, 359.
-t- (*in interrog. vbs., e.g.* aime-t-il), 328–9.

INDEX OF SUFFIXES AND TERMINATIONS[1]

In the course of the book it has been found convenient (without any fixed rule) to refer to Latin suffixes in either the nominative or the accusative, and in either the Classical or the Popular form (e. g. *nom.* **-aculus**, *acc.* **-aculum**, and the Popular *acc.*. **-aculu**; *nom.* **-alis**, *acc.* **-alem**, and the Popular *acc.* **-ale**). The Popular forms are given here as a rule, with Classical forms where necessary. For feminine suffixes in **-a**, the Classical nominative and Popular nominative and accusative are identical.

The only flexional suffixes referred to are, for the verb, those of the infinitive and participle; for the noun, the *-s* of the O.F. nom. sing. and acc. pl., and of the modern plural; and the O.F. plural *-e*. A few 'verb-terminations' formed by the union of the infinitive suffix with the final of the stem are included for special reasons.

References are given, exceptionally, to suffixes not mentioned explicitly, but included in compound words on the page quoted (see, for instance, *-eron*, *-on*, p. 250).

A.

-a (= -ac), 189.
-able, 272.
-ac, 189.
-acu, -acum (*Lat., of Gaulish origin*), *see* -iacum.
-age, 191, 240.
-ai (= -ac), 189.
-ail, -aille (= -aculus, -acula), 191.
-aille (= -acula), *see* -ail, -aille, *above*.
-aille (= -alia, -ĭlia), 227.
-ain, -aine (*as num. suff. replacing* -ein, -enu), 204–5.
-al, 269, 282.
-ale, -alem, 269 (*see also* -al).
-alia, 227.
-alis, *see* -ale.
-als (*pl. of* -al, *which see also*), 282.
-amment (*adv. suffix*), 381.
-ant, -ante, 270, 281, 381.
-ante, -antem, 270.
-ard, -arde, 240.
-are (*vb.-suff.*), 338–343 (*see also* -er).
-art, *see* -ard.
-ascere, 342.
-atorem, 253.
-atricem, 253.
-atus, 248.
-aux (*pl. of* -al, -ale, *which see also*), 268, 282.
-ay (= -ac), 189.

C.

-cer (*vb.-termination*), 351.
-ci (= ici), 313.

E.

†-e (= -a, *neut. pl.*), 227–8.
-é (= -ac), 189.
-é, -ée, -ées (= -atu, -ata, -atas), *see* -atus, 248.
-eau, -elle (*subs. suff.*), 191.
-eil, -eille (= -ĭculus, -ĭcula), 191.
†-eis (= -ensis), 268.
-el (= -ale), 269.

[1] For a full discussion of the suffixes, reference must be made to Book III. The references in this book are for the most part only incidental.